

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Editor's Note: The President was at Camp David, MD, on October 28, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Week Ending Friday, October 28, 2005

**Remarks at the Ribbon-Cutting
Ceremony for the Air Force One
Pavilion in Simi Valley, California**
October 21, 2005

Thank you all. Fred, you forgot to say, Air Force One brought me out here to California—[laughter]—and Laura and I are glad we came. Thanks for the warm welcome. We're great fans of Nancy Reagan. We admire her strength. We admire the love she has for her husband, and we're grateful for your friendship. Thank you, Mrs. Reagan. And I appreciate the invitation to come back to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, and I'm proud to stand in this magnificent pavilion that is now home to a celebrated symbol of democracy and freedom.

You know, across this Nation, Americans can visit many great memorials to the cause of liberty, from a statue in a busy harbor whose arm carries high the flame of freedom, to a quiet field in Arlington filled with rows of white tombstones, to a mountainside in the heartland carved with the images of America's great leaders. Each evokes a sense of awe and wonder. But none can soar at more than 500 miles an hour—[laughter]—carrying freedom's message across oceans and continents.

It was President Reagan's dream to share Air Force One with the American people by bringing this plane to his Presidential library. Now, as this pavilion opens, Americans will have the chance to experience firsthand the majesty and the power of this incredible aircraft. I want to thank you all for making this possible. This is an important contribution to the history of America.

I appreciate Fred Ryan, the chairman of the Board of Trustees, and I want to thank all the trustees who are here. I thank Duke Blackwood, the executive director. I appreciate Rob Zucca. He happens to be the Air Force One project specialist, the guy who got the work done.

Traveling with me today is Colonel Mark Tillman. Fred mentioned the flight into Baghdad. He was the pilot flying me into Baghdad. He's—I've always found it's a good thing to praise your pilot. [Laughter]

I appreciate former Governor and Senator Pete Wilson being here—it's good to see you and Gayle; thanks for coming—former Attorney General Ed Meese and Ursula; Members of the United States Congress, some of whom—all of whom I'm about to mention jumped on Air Force One yesterday to fly from Washington to Los Angeles. They've heard it's quite comfortable. [Laughter] Elton Gallegly and his wife, Janice—Elton is the Congressman from this district. David Dreier and Dana Rohrabacher, thank you all for coming.

I know Mayor Paul Miller is with us. Mr. Mayor, thanks for being here. We appreciate you coming. Only advice I have is, fill the potholes. [Laughter]

We're proud that the Archivist of the United States, Allen Weinstein, is with us, as well as acting Secretary of the Air Force Pete Geren.

But most of all, thanks for inviting Laura and me to be here.

There is no single aircraft called Air Force One. That call sign belongs to any Air Force plane when the Commander in Chief is on board. And this particular plane, Tail Number 27000, wore the name of Air Force One 445 times, over 28 years, in service to America's—seven American Presidents, starting with Richard Nixon and ending with me.

Of all the Presidents that Tail Number 27000 served, none used her more than President Ronald Reagan. It was 25 years ago this November that the American people sent Ronald Reagan to the White House for his first of two terms. Mrs. Reagan recalls their first time onboard together, when this plane carried them from California to Washington, DC, for the 1981 Inaugural. As the President-elect attended to paperwork, Mrs.

Reagan says she was busy writing letters to friends on Air Force One stationery—[*laughter*]*—that said this: “Look at me. I’m flying on Air Force One.” [Laughter]*

In all the flights that followed, Nancy was always on the President’s mind. Aides recall that whenever he traveled alone, President Reagan would bow his head in silence before each takeoff. When asked why he did so, the President replied that he was asking the Lord to take care of Nancy should something happen to him.

During his 8 years in office, this plane carried our 40th President on 211 missions, logging more than 630,000 miles in the air. The plane brought President Reagan to London, where he declared to the world that freedom and democracy would leave communism “on the ash heap of history.” This plane brought President Reagan to Berlin, where he challenged General Secretary Gorbachev to “tear down this wall.” And this plane brought President Reagan to Moscow, where he stood beneath a giant bust of Lenin and told the students at Moscow State University that the future belongs to freedom.

No matter how many hours he spent in the air, President Reagan never lost his sense of humor. One of his favorite pastimes on board Air Force One was prowling the staff cabin with a White House photographer in tow looking for somebody who was asleep. [*Laughter*] He would pose next to the unknown victim and then send him a signed picture when they got home. [*Laughter*] One day, Secretary of State George Schultz received a photo of himself asleep with his mouth wide open—[*laughter*]*—as the President waved his arms in mock desperation. The inscription read, “George, wake up. The Soviets are coming.” [Laughter]*

The President and Mrs. Reagan flew this plane together for the last time on January the 20th, 1989, when it brought them back home to California. Now, 16 years later, this plane has found a home beneath the Pacific sky, alongside the President she so ably served.

It’s appropriate that this symbol of American strength and resilience and optimism has come to rest at the library that bears Ronald Reagan’s name. After all, it was President Reagan who always reminded us that when

we set our eyes on the horizon, every day is “morning in America.” As Nancy Reagan has said, “The Reagan Library is a place the sun will never set on the principles that Ronnie believed in so deeply.”

Ronald Reagan’s principles started with an abiding belief in the power and in the appeal of liberty. He believed that freedom is the right of every man, woman, and child on Earth. He recognized that freedom was opposed by dangerous enemies, and he understood that America has always prevailed by standing firmly on principles and never backing down in the face of evil.

At the beginning of his Presidency, Ronald Reagan declared that the years ahead would be great ones “for the cause of freedom and the spread of civilization.” He dismissed communism as “a bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages were being written.” For 8 years he acted on that conviction, and shortly after he left office, the Berlin Wall came down; the “Evil Empire” collapsed; and the cause of liberty prevailed in the cold war.

The pavilion that we open today includes a cold war gallery where a new generation will learn about the great victory for freedom that President Reagan’s leadership helped secure. They’ll see how President Reagan rallied the world’s democracies to defend liberty against the totalitarian aspirations of Soviet communism. They’ll see how his strategy and vision secured a free and peaceful Europe. They will learn that the key to victory lay in our resolve to stay in the fight until the fight was won.

As President Reagan put it in his Westminster address, “While our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, the ultimate determinant in the struggle will be not bombs and rockets but a test of will and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, to which we are dedicated.”

Because of Ronald Reagan’s leadership, America prevailed in the 20th century’s great struggle of wills. And now in this new century, our freedom is once again being tested by determined enemies. The terrorists who attacked us on September the 11th, 2001, are followers of a radical and violent ideology. They exploit the religion of Islam to

serve a violent political vision, the establishment of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Jews and Hindus and against Muslims from other traditions, who they regard as heretics.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard of Islamic militants that presume to speak for the Muslim masses. Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that the innocent can be murdered to serve a political vision. Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. And like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is doomed to fail.

It will fail because it undermines the freedom and creativity that makes human progress possible and human societies successful. The only thing modern about our enemy's vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt: Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation, decline, and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, free peoples will own the future.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we are answering history's call with confidence and a comprehensive strategy. We're working to prevent the attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and to their terrorist allies who would use them without hesitation. We're depriving radical groups of support and sanctuary from outlaw regimes. We're stopping the militants from gaining control of any nation which they would use as a home base and a launching pad for terror. And we're draining the militants of future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope and freedom across the broader Middle East.

We will prevail in the war on terror, because this generation is determined to meet the threats of our time. We understand our duty. We understand our responsibility to the American people. There will be tough moments ahead on this path to victory. Yet, we have confidence in our cause because we have seen America face down brutal enemies before. We have confidence in our cause because we have seen the power of freedom to overcome the dark ideologies of tyranny and terror. And we have confidence in our cause because we believe, as President Ronald Reagan did, that freedom is "one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit."

Thank you all for having us. May God bless Ronald Reagan, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Zucca, exhibits specialist, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, National Archives and Records Administration; Gayle Wilson, wife of former Gov. Pete Wilson of California; Ursula Meese, wife of former Attorney General Edwin Meese III; and Mayor Paul Miller of Simi Valley, CA. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks to Reporters in Simi Valley October 21, 2005

Mehlis Report on Lebanese Assassination

Today the United Nations issued what is called the Mehlis Report. It's a report into the death of Prime Minister Hariri of Lebanon, and the report is deeply disturbing. The report suggests that it is—strongly suggests that the politically motivated assassination could not have taken place without Syrian involvement.

I called Secretary Rice this morning and instructed her to call upon the United Nations to convene a session as quickly as possible to deal with this very serious matter. We have made it clear that the position of the United States is that there be no foreign involvement in Lebanon. The United Nations made that clear through Resolution 1559. And today a serious report came out

that requires the world to look at it very carefully and respond accordingly.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks. This item was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

October 22, 2004

Good morning. This week I signed into law a bill that supports our ongoing efforts to defend our homeland.

To defend this country, we have to enforce our borders. When our borders are not secure, terrorists, drug dealers, and criminals find it easier to sneak into America. My administration has a clear strategy for dealing with this problem: We want to stop people from crossing into America illegally and to quickly return the illegal immigrants we catch back to their home countries.

For the past 4 years, we've been implementing this strategy. To stop illegal immigrants from coming across our borders, we've added manpower, upgraded our technology, and taken the final steps necessary to complete a 14-mile barrier running along the San Diego border with Mexico. To enforce our immigration laws within our borders, we've hired more immigration agents, gone after criminal gangs, and targeted smugglers and "coyotes" who traffic in human beings. We are getting results: Since 2001, we have removed more than 4.8 million illegal immigrants from the United States, including more than 300,000 with criminal records.

Our border patrol and immigration agents are doing a fine job, but we still have a problem. Too many illegal immigrants are coming in, and we're capturing many more non-Mexican illegal immigrants than we can send home. And one of the biggest reasons we cannot send them back is that we lack space in our detention facilities to hold them until they are removed. When there's no bed available, non-Mexicans who are caught entering our country illegally are given a slip that tells them to come back for a court appearance. Most never show up, and then they disappear

back into the shadows of our communities. This is called "catch-and-release," and it is unacceptable.

The bill I signed includes \$7.5 billion that will help us address the problem of illegal immigration in two important ways. First, it provides more than \$2.3 billion for the Border Patrol so we can keep more illegal immigrants from getting into the country in the first place. These funds will help us hire a thousand new border patrol agents, improve our technology and intelligence, expand and improve Border Patrol stations, and install and improve fencing, lighting, vehicle barriers, and roads along our border areas. I appreciate the help Congress has given us for our common goal of creating more secure borders.

Second, this bill also provides \$3.7 billion for Immigration and Customs Enforcement so we can find and return the illegal immigrants who are entering our country. With these funds, we can expand the holding capacity of our detention facilities by 10 percent. This will allow us to hold more non-Mexican illegal immigrants while we process them through a program we call "expedited removal." This will make the process faster and more efficient. Putting more non-Mexican illegal immigrants through expedited removal is crucial to sending back people who have come here illegally. As Secretary Chertoff told the Senate this week, our goal is to return every single illegal entrant, with no exceptions. And this bill puts us on the path to do that.

For Mexicans who cross into America illegally, we have a different plan but the same goal. Now, most of the 900,000 illegal immigrants from Mexico who are caught each year are immediately escorted back across the border. The problem is that these illegal immigrants are able to connect with another smuggler or "coyote" and come right back in. So one part of the solution is a program called "interior repatriation" where we fly or bus these illegal immigrants all the way back to their hometowns in the interior of Mexico. By returning illegal Mexican immigrants to their homes, far away from desert crossings, we're saving lives and making it more difficult for them to turn right around and cross back into America.

As we improve and expand our efforts to secure our borders, we must also recognize that enforcement cannot work unless it's part of a comprehensive immigration reform that includes a temporary-worker program. If an employer has a job that no American is willing to take, we need to find a way to fill that demand by matching willing employers with willing workers from foreign countries on a temporary and legal basis. I'll work with Members of Congress to create a program that will provide for our economy's labor needs without harming American workers and without granting amnesty, and that will relieve pressure on our borders.

A critical part of any temporary-worker program is ensuring that our immigration laws are enforced at work sites. America is a country of laws. We must not allow dishonest employers to flout those laws. So we've doubled the resources for work site enforcement since 2004.

We have much more work ahead of us. But the Homeland Security bill I signed this week provides vital support for our efforts to deal with the problem of illegal immigration and make all Americans safer and more secure.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 12:20 p.m. on October 21 in Los Angeles, CA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 22. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 21 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting and an Exchange With Reporters

October 24, 2005

The President. Thank the members of my Cabinet for being here. We've just had a discussion about a variety of subjects. These men and women are showing extraordinary leadership to the American people, and I want to thank you for your continued service.

Secretary Chertoff briefed me and briefed the Cabinet about Hurricane Wilma. I also discussed Wilma with FEMA Director

Paulison as well as the Governor of Florida, the State of Florida, Jeb Bush.

I signed a major disaster declaration today. We have prepositioned food, medicine, communications equipment, urban search and rescue teams. We will work closely with local and State authorities to respond to this hurricane.

I urge local citizens to listen to the local authorities about returning back to your homes. Those folks are on the ground. They know what they're talking about, and it's important that you pay attention to the messages coming out of people there to help you in Florida. We all ask for God's blessings on those who are in harm's way.

Secondly, we discussed responses to Katrina and Rita. We have a duty in the Federal Government to work with State and local authorities to help the citizens in Mississippi and Louisiana and Alabama and Texas. There's more help to be done, and we need to do so in a fiscally sound way. We can meet our obligations if we set priorities. We can meet our obligations if we in Washington show the courage to not fund programs that aren't working. I look forward to working with Congress to make sure that the taxpayers understand that we can balance compassion with fiscal sanity and fiscal responsibility.

So I want to thank—again, thank the members of the Cabinet. I'll be glad to answer a couple of questions.

Nedra [Nedra Pickler, Associated Press].

CIA Employee's Identity Disclosure Investigation

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. You said several weeks ago that Special Counsel Peter Fitzgerald was handling the CIA leak investigation in a very dignified way. Yet some of your Republican supporters have recently suggested he may be an overzealous prosecutor or one obsessing over legal technicalities. Have you revised your thinking on this issue?

The President. Nedra, I also said—this may be the fourth time I've been asked about this, which I appreciate, you're doing your job—I'm not going to comment about it. This is a very serious investigation, and I haven't

changed my mind about whether or not I'm going to comment on it publicly.

Fine-looking shades you got there.

Q. Thanks, Mr. President. Bono style. [Laughter]

The President. Wait a minute. You don't need to be endorsing any products here in the Cabinet—[laughter].

Associate Justice-Designate Harriet Miers

Q. Mr. President, as a newspaper reported on Saturday, is the White House working on a contingency plan for the withdrawal of Harriet Miers' nomination?

The President. Harriet Miers is an extraordinary woman. She was a legal pioneer in Texas. She was ranked one of the top 50 women lawyers in the United States on a consistent basis. She is—look, I understand that people want to know more about her, and that's the way the process should work.

Recently, requests, however, have been made by Democrats and Republicans about paperwork and—out of this White House that would make it impossible for me and other Presidents to be able to make sound decisions. In other words, they've asked for paperwork about the decisionmaking process, what her recommendations were, and that would breach very important confidentiality. And it's a redline I'm not willing to cross. People can learn about Harriet Miers through hearings, but we are not going to destroy this business about people being able to walk into the Oval Office and say, "Mr. President, here's my advice to you. Here's what I think is important." And that's not only important for this President; it's important for future Presidents.

Harriet Miers is a fine person, and I expect her to have a good, fair hearing on Capitol Hill.

Thank you all for coming.

Nomination for Federal Reserve Board Chairman

Q. [Inaudible]—on a Federal Reserve Chairman, Mr. President?

The President. Be making an announcement soon.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:45 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. A reporter referred to Patrick J. Fitzgerald, U.S. Attorney for

the Northern District of Illinois; and musician and activist Bono. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Ben S. Bernanke To Be Chairman of the Federal Reserve

October 24, 2005

The President. Good afternoon. One of a President's most important appointments is Chairman of the Federal Reserve. In our economy, the Fed is the independent body responsible for setting monetary policy, for overseeing the integrity of our banking system, for containing the risk that can arise in financial markets, and for ensuring a functioning payment system. Across the world, the Fed is the symbol of the integrity and the reliability of our financial system, and the decisions of the Fed affects the lives and livelihoods of all Americans.

To lead this institution, a Chairman must be a person of impeccable credentials, sound policy judgment, and character. Today I'm honored to announce that I'm nominating Ben Bernanke to be the next Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Over the course of a career marked by great accomplishment, Ben has done path-breaking work in the field of monetary policy, taught advanced economics at some of our top universities, and served with distinction on the Fed's Board of Governors. He's earned a reputation for intellectual rigor and integrity. He commands deep respect in the global financial community, and he'll be an outstanding Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Ben will replace a legend, Alan Greenspan, who will retire when his current term runs out at the end of January. For nearly two decades, Chairman Greenspan has shepherded our economy through its highs and its lows. Under a steady chairmanship, the United States economy has come through a stock market crash, financial crises from Mexico to Asia, two recessions, corporate scandals, and shocks ranging from devastating natural disasters to a terrorist attack in the heart of America's financial center.

Through all these challenges, Chairman Greenspan's prudent judgment and wise policies have kept inflation low. He's played a major role in America's strong economic growth. He has dominated his age like no central banker in history. He has contributed to a better life for all Americans, and I thank him for his service.

Ben Bernanke is the right man to build on the record Alan Greenspan has established. Ben graduated from Harvard with top honors, earned a doctorate in economics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He's built a record of excellence as both an academic and policymaker. He is the author of several scholarly books and is one of the most cited economists in the world. As Fed Governor, Ben advocated greater transparency in communication with the public and markets. His speeches were widely admired for their keen insight and clear, simple language.

Ben's career has also been distinguished by leadership. He was chairman of Princeton's economics department, founding director of Princeton's Bendheim Center for Finance, and a founding editor of the *International Journal of Central Banking*. Since June, he has served as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Ben is also a kind and decent man who is held in high regard by all those who've worked with him. He has the support of a strong and loving family. I'm pleased to see that Ben's wife, Anna, and his two children, Alyssa and Joel, are with us today.

I want to thank Ben for his willingness to serve in a position so important for world markets and so vital to the well being of the American people. I urge the Senate to act promptly to confirm Ben Bernanke as the 14th Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Ben, thanks for serving.

[At this point, Chairman-designate Bernanke made brief remarks.]

The President. Congratulations, sir. Thank you, Ben.

Chairman-designate Bernanke. Thank you.

The President. Mr. Chairman, thank you for being here. I appreciate you.

Chairman Greenspan. Thank you.

The President. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Chairman-designate Bernanke.

Interview With Al Arabiya

October 24, 2005

Mehlis Report on Lebanese Assassination

Q. Mr. President, thank you very much for this interview. I much appreciate it.

The President. Thank you.

Q. Let me start after the—Mehlis report. You described the report as deeply disturbing. Does the United States, your administration, support imposing sanctions on Syria?

The President. Here's what we support. We support that the world take this report very seriously, that there were some very strong implications in the report, that it be fully aired, and that the United Nations start to take action. Tomorrow there's a meeting of the perm reps, permanent representatives, and I've instructed Secretary Rice to call upon the United Nations to host a foreign ministers meeting as quickly as possible.

Syria

Q. Are we heading into a confrontation with Syria?

The President. I certainly hope not. I mean, I think one of the things that Syria has learned is that noncompliance with international demands will yield to isolation. Fifteen fifty-nine was a very serious statement by the free world and the United Nations to say to Syria, "Get out of Lebanon. Leave Lebanon alone. Let the Lebanon democracy flourish and function." She saw—she, being Syria—saw that the world spoke in voice, one voice.

And nobody wants there to be a confrontation. On the other hand, there must be serious pressure applied so that the leader understands that, one, they can't house terrorist groups that will destroy the peace process with Israel and Palestine, for example; two, they should stop meddling in Lebanon; three, that they should stop allowing transit

of bombers and killers into Iraq that are killing people that want there to be a democracy. In other words, there are some clear demands by the world. And this Mehlis report, as I say, had serious implications for Syria, and the Syrian Government must take the demands of the free world very seriously.

France/Diplomacy

Q. The French—as you know, the French Prime Minister wants to introduce a resolution for Syria to cooperate with the investigation. Would you support that?

The President. The French foreign minister—

Q. They want to introduce a resolution in the United Nations, in the Security Council, basically calling on Syria to cooperate further in the investigation into the killing—

The President. Oh, I see. Sure. Well, listen, we're working very closely with the French. We did on 1559, and there was a clear message as a result of the cooperation between the U.S. Government, the French, and many other governments, and Condi Rice, who I spoke to today, is still in consultations with the French to make sure we have a common message.

Q. I know you said before that you're focusing on diplomatic options, but the military one is still on the table. Would you resort to that?

The President. Well, listen, nobody wants to use the military. A military is always the last choice of a President. I understand the use of military, and I know how hard it can be. And I'm—any time anybody loses their life in our military, I weep for the families. And I know innocent people can sometimes be in harm's way, so the military is always the last option. And this is a chance for the world to work together to achieve a diplomatic solution.

And our diplomats, starting with Secretary Rice, are working very hard to come up with a common position to make it clear to Syria that there are clear and understandable demands. And I've just listed some of them earlier. Listen, as you know, you and I have worked together, and you've seen the emergence of a potential Palestinian state that I strongly embrace, but we must not allow terrorists to operate out of Syria. That would

derail the peace process. It's not fair to the people of Gaza. It's not fair to the people of the West Bank. And so that is one clear demand, that Syria must shut down these camps and not allow terrorists groups to have safe haven in Syria.

We want the Lebanese democracy to flourish. And so Syria should not be—should no longer be involved in Lebanon. They removed their troops, like was told to them in 1559, but it also was clear it said, "Get rid of all your intelligence services and your operations out of there." And the Mehlis report implicates Syria's involvement in the death of Mr. Hariri, who was a fine man.

And of course, one of the concerns I have and that other countries have as well is Syria becoming a transit place for these killers that are going into Iraq and killing Muslims, killing innocent women and children. And it's just—they got to understand there is a—there's a worldwide concern about their failure to act.

Q. If they don't cooperate, what would you do?

The President. Well, I'm hoping that they will. They did on 1559 in terms of getting their troops out. In other words, there's a diplomatic—you're trying to get me to say something—I'm going to use our military. It is the last, very last option. And no Commander in Chief likes to commit the military, and I don't. But on the other hand, you know—and I've worked hard for diplomacy and will continue to work the diplomatic angle on this issue.

Q. We've seen similar models before. Some people talk about the Libyan model, i.e. sanction, long term, and then the Libyans will hand over the suspects—or the Iraqi one—

The President. Well, I think each country is different. Saddam Hussein had, gosh, a lot of resolutions out of the United Nations. Year after year after year after year, the United Nations said, "Do this," and he never complied. And so it's—he was—diplomacy wasn't working. And my attitude is, let's give diplomacy a chance to work. Obviously, we'd like to resolve any issue in a peaceful way. And that's the main goal of the United States.

China and Russia

Q. Obviously, you have the French and the British on board, but what about the Chinese and the Russians? Who will support—will you get their support?

The President. Well, that's an interesting question. I think it's too early to tell. I certainly hope that people take a good look at the Mehlis report. Mr. Mehlis did a very thorough job, and it speaks—there's clear implications about Syrian's involvement in the death of a foreign leader. And the United States was willing to help, work with other countries, and we will, to make sure that out of the United Nations comes a clear message.

Possible Trial in an International Court

Q. As you know, Saad Hariri, who's the son of the slain President—Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, is asking for an international court. Would the United States support the trial in an international court for the suspects?

The President. Well, we want people to be held to account. And I'd be glad to talk to other leaders to determine whether or not that's the best course of action. But certainly, people do need to be held to account. And the first course of action is to go the United Nations.

Q. But further, would you—

The President. Well, we'll have to see.

Q. —support that or not?

The President. We'll have to see.

Trial of Saddam Hussein

Q. If we move to Iraq.

The President. Sure.

Q. I would like to know, how would you evaluate the performance of Saddam Hussein during the trial? Do you think he's weakened? He's still defiant?

The President. That's hard for me to tell. The key thing is that there will be a fair trial, which is something he didn't give many of the thousand people he killed. It's—there's going to be a lot of international scrutiny. There will be a lot of press coverage. People are going to be watching very carefully. And what matters is the fact that he will be brought to trial in a fair way.

Q. And do you think that, eventually, the situation is safe enough for this court to take

place? Is Baghdad safe enough for Saddam to be tried there?

The President. I think it is, yes, I do. I mean, listen, it's safe enough to have an election nationwide, where these killers were saying, "We'll kill you if you vote," and a lot of people went and voted. In other words, it's possible to provide security. But I think the trial needs to go forward.

Q. But you know, Mr. President, one of the defense lawyers was killed—

The President. Oh, I know. It's just terrible.

Q. So how can you make sure it's fair trial—

The President. No, I understand. Well, there will be a fair trial. The question is whether or not there's the courage to go ahead with the trial. And I think the people of Iraq would like to see Saddam Hussein tried for the crimes he committed.

Q. Would you support again an international trial for him?

The President. No, I didn't. I didn't at all. I think it's very important for the Iraqis to have a justice system that earns the confidence of the people. This is a new democracy, and part of a democracy is to have a fair judicial system. And I thought it was very important for the Iraqi—citizens of Iraq to conduct the trial in such a way that it earned international respect.

Iraqi Elections/Constitution

Q. You had started talks with the Sunni opposition parties. What happened to that? Where—are you advancing in the talks with them?

The President. With the Sunnis?

Q. Yes.

The President. Well, first of all, the United States of America will not try to pick a winner in the upcoming election. We talked—our Ambassador Zal Khalilzad was involved with trying to help the parties come together and make a deal on the constitution, to get people's participation and get people involved with the—show that the process can work through discussion and compromise.

And when it comes to the elections, upcoming elections, should the constitution get passed—and it looks like it might—there will be an election for a permanent government.

The United States will not pick a winner. That's going to be up to the Iraqi people. Our mission will be to encourage all people to participate in the process.

It's been amazing, what's happened in Iraq, when you really think about it. Millions of people voted last January. Nobody—a lot of people didn't think that would happen. And then this new constitution was written. You know, it's a document that is—it caused a lot of debate, and people showed anxieties or supported part of it, but it's a document that can be changed with a democratically elected government, just like what happened to our Constitution. I mean, the United States Constitution created a lot of anxiety when it was first passed, and then it was amended right off the bat. But I'm very—I've got to tell you, I am impressed by the courage of the Iraqi citizens and pleased with the progress.

Iraqi Security Situation

Q. Are you satisfied with the security situation? It's pretty dismal there.

The President. Well, it's tough, but the security—no question. And the enemy, these killers, have got one weapon, and that is to get on TV by killing innocent people. And it's a powerful weapon; don't get me wrong. And what they're trying to do is shake our will. They would like us to leave. They would like to take advantage of a weak situation, so they can begin to spread their dark vision of how they ought to—want to rule countries and regions. They have hijacked a great religion. Islam is peace. It's not war. It's not killing innocent children and innocent women.

And these—Zawahiri, as you know, there was a letter to Zarqawi that came out, and it talked about his vision of driving America out of parts of the world and overthrowing governments to be able to implement their vision of a society in which women don't have rights or a society in which you can't worship freely. And it's a society in which they can plan attacks on other people. And they've got one weapon. They don't have a philosophy. People don't say, "Gosh, I want to follow them because there's such a better tomorrow." And the only weapon they've got is to kill innocent people, and they're trying to shake our will.

And there's no question the images are terrible. Americans weep when they hear about the loss of life like that. On the other hand, the security situation is improving. When you look at the fact that they just had an election, and that—we can't stop random acts of violence, but the Iraqi security forces are better prepared to defend themselves. And over time, they'll become even better. And as I told the American people, as the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down. And we're headed in that direction right now.

Upcoming Palestinian Election/Hamas

Q. I have to go quickly to the Palestinian situation. First, Abu Mazen visit. I know this one is supposed to be primarily about the Palestinians. But would you support the outcome of the results—as you know, you discussed this with Abu Mazen—of the election, the Palestinian election in January, if Hamas wins, regardless?

The President. Well, you know, I told him that it's very difficult to have a—first of all, it depends upon whether there was armed citizens. I mean, you can't have a political party that's, on the one hand, based on philosophy, on the other hand, based upon violence and use of force through arms. He understands that.

Let me step back if I could. I was impressed by my visit with President Abbas. He's a courageous man. He told me some things that were very strong in terms of the development of democracy, which I appreciate, because, as you know, I've articulated the vision of a Palestinian state, a democracy, living side by side with Israel. And I think it can happen. And I know, first and foremost, it takes strong leadership.

And President Abbas showed me something in the Oval Office, which is, one, a deep desire to defeat terror and promote democracy. And he understands, as he said, that we can't have armed gangs, whether they be in a political party or not. They're destabilizing the situation, and so he's had, one authority, one law, one gun policy. And I believe he means it.

Q. Right. So you would like him to disarm the Hamas and Jihad before the election?

The President. Well, as he said, what he's going to do is to make sure there's no armed

presence on the streets, and I would like for him to follow through on that. I believe that his party will win because his party is one of peace, and I think most people want peace.

One of the interesting things is, in this campaign, is that he will be able to say, "I worked with Israel to get Israelis out of Gaza." Now, had you and I been discussing this a year-and-a-half ago, because I know this is an issue very dear to your heart, and I would have said, "The settlements will be dismantled, and Israel will be out of Gaza," you would have looked at me and said, "I don't think you know what you're talking about, Mr. President." And sure enough, it happened. Prime Minister Sharon gets a lot of credit for that, as does President Abbas.

Very few people thought it could—this—there could be enough cooperation for the withdrawal to be peaceful. Both men had to deal with difficult political situations as a result of the decision. And now we need to move forward, and the United States wants to help. And we want to help—you asked me if—if people get elected, they're going to use violence as a tool, there won't be our help. We just won't be involved. If people get elected who say, "We want to advance peace and prosperity of the Palestinian people," we'll be involved.

Timetable for Peace/Palestinian People

Q. Finally, very final question.

The President. No, you can keep going.

Q. Thank you. When we talk about the Palestinian state, I know you are the first President—you heard this many times before—you are the first President to call for a Palestinian state. You don't like timetables. Why—can you clarify what you say the other day—why don't you want to push the parties towards a final status negotiation, and say, "By this date, we're working towards it"?

The President. Absolutely. I said—I appreciate—thank you for giving me the chance to clarify a statement. Look, I said I would like this to happen before I end being President, and I would. And we are going to push. I mean, one of the reasons—well, Condi and I talk about this all the time, Condi Rice and I, about how we'd very much like to see a Palestinian democracy achieve

its status as a state. I'd love that if I were the President. I think it would be a great historic achievement for everybody involved. And so I did put out a firm date, and I'm going to work hard for that date.

On the other hand, you don't want an American President making decisions for other people based upon his own political calendar or his own time in office, is what I really meant to say. I don't think it's fair. And this is going to be a process, as you know, that will be two steps forward and one step back and two steps forward. And the United States is fully committed to the roadmap, we're fully committed to helping going forward, and we're fully committed to practical things on the ground.

You know, I had General Ward in the other day. And as I told you at the press conference, we're going to replace General Ward soon, and I meant that. There needs to be continued help of—to help President Abbas be able to deal with the security situation. One authority, one law, one gun—in order to have one authority, one law, one gun, you got to have—got to reform forces that are able to respond.

Secondly, I talk to Jim Wolfensohn a lot. Now, there's a practical man. And the greenhouse is a good example of practical application of U.S. desire to help get the economy going.

Look, I fully understand the Rafah crossing needs to be opened, and I think it will be sooner rather than later, and we're pushing hard. But there's other crossings that need to happen. There needs to—in order for the Palestinian economy to grow, there needs to be—there needs to be crossings in—yes, in northern Gaza, in Israel, so people can go and work and come back and bring enterprise. Israeli capital needs to take a look at enterprise zones within the Gaza so that there's a chance for people to find work. Foreign capital needs to be encouraged to go into Gaza so that the—so that good Palestinians can work.

Let me tell you something about what I know. First of all, I've been very impressed by the caliber of the Palestinians I've met, and I've met quite a few. They're very smart, very well educated, and very entrepreneurial. The Palestinians are good businesspeople.

And they want to be free. And they're peaceful; they really are peaceful. And they have a chance to—and I've told this to Abu Mazen; I said, "You've got a fantastic population. Let's—now is your chance to lead them."

As you know, I welcomed some of his young team.

Q. I know about that meeting.

The President. Yes, we had the chief of staff, and his spokesperson is a lovely lady who is a very well-educated person, went back to the—to Palestine to try to serve what she hopes will be a country. I was impressed by these young, dynamic, capable, peace-loving people.

And so I think we've got a very good chance to succeed. I want it to happen before I'm President, but it's not about me. That's my point. It's about the Palestinians, and it's about the Israelis, all of whom want to—many of whom want to get rid of the past and have a more glorious future by living side by side in peace and democracy. And it's—I think it's going to happen.

Q. I hope so. Thank you very much, sir.

The President. Thanks.

Q. Thank you for your time. Thank you. Wonderful.

The President. Very good interview.

Q. Well, one day I'm going to run as the mayor of Gaza, so probably I need your help. [Laughter]

The President. Absolutely. After I'm President, I'll go help you. [Laughter]

NOTE: The interview was taped at 3:39 p.m. in the Library at the White House for later broadcast. In his remarks, the President referred to President Bashar al-Asad of Syria; Minister of Foreign Affairs Philippe Douste-Blazy of France; former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri of Lebanon, who was assassinated on February 14 in Beirut; Detlev Mehlis, head, United Nations International Independent Investigation Commission into the assassination of former Prime Minister Hariri; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad; Ayman Al-Zawahiri, founder of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and senior Al Qaida associate; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; President Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) of the Palestinian Authority, and his chief of staff, Rafiq Hussein; Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel; Lt. Gen. William E. "Kip" Ward, USA, Senior

U.S. Security Coordinator, Department of State; and James D. Wolfensohn, Quartet Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Presidential Determination on FY 2006 Refugee Admissions Numbers and Authorizations of In-Country Refugee Status

October 24, 2005

Presidential Determination No. 2006-03

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Presidential Determination on FY 2006 Refugee Admissions Numbers and Authorizations of In-Country Refugee Status Pursuant to Sections 207 and 101(a)(42), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and Determination Pursuant to Section 2(b)(2) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, as Amended

In accordance with Section 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (the "Act") (8 U.S.C. 1157), as amended, and after appropriate consultations with the Congress, I hereby make the following determinations and authorize the following actions:

The admission of up to 70,000 refugees to the United States during FY 2006 is justified by humanitarian concerns or is otherwise in the national interest; provided, however, that this number shall be understood as including persons admitted to the United States during FY 2006 with Federal refugee resettlement assistance under the Amerasian immigrant admissions program, as provided below.

The 70,000 admissions numbers shall be allocated among refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States in accordance with the following regional allocations; provided, however, that the number allocated to the East Asia region shall include persons admitted to the United States during FY 2006 with Federal refugee resettlement assistance under section 584 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 1988, as contained in section 101(e) of Public Law 100-202 (Amerasian immigrants and their family members); provided further that the number

allocated to the former Soviet Union shall include persons admitted who were nationals of the former Soviet Union, or in the case of persons having no nationality, who were habitual residents of the former Soviet Union, prior to September 2, 1991:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Africa | 20,000 |
| East Asia | 15,000 |
| Europe and Central Asia | 15,000 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | 5,000 |
| Near East/South Asia | 5,000 |
| Unallocated Reserve | 10,000 |

The 10,000 unallocated refugee numbers shall be allocated to regional ceilings as needed. Upon providing notification to the Judiciary Committees of the Congress, you are hereby authorized to use unallocated numbers in regions where the need for additional numbers arises.

Additionally, upon notification to the Judiciary Committees of the Congress, you are further authorized to transfer unused admission numbers allocated to a particular region to one or more other regions, if there is a need for greater numbers for the region or regions to which the numbers are being transferred. Consistent with section 2(b)(2) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, I hereby determine that assistance to or on behalf of persons applying for admission to the United States as part of the overseas refugee admissions program will contribute to the foreign policy interests of the United States and designate such persons for this purpose.

Consistent with section 101(a)(42) of the Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(42)) and after appropriate consultation with the Congress, I also specify that, for FY 2006, the following persons may, if otherwise qualified, be considered refugees for the purpose of admission to the United States within their countries of nationality or habitual residence:

- a. Persons in Vietnam
- b. Persons in Cuba
- c. Persons in the former Soviet Union
- d. In exceptional circumstances, persons identified by a United States Embassy in any location

You are authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress imme-

diately and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 31, 2005]

NOTE: This memorandum will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 1.

Remarks at the Joint Armed Forces Officers' Wives Luncheon

October 25, 2005

Thank you all. Thanks for having me. Please be seated. Thank you for the kind introduction, Jonnie, and thanks for the warm welcome. I appreciate being invited to come. It's such an honor to be here to stand up with so many strong and caring women—and a few men—[*laughter*]*—*who are devoted to their husbands and their wives and to our country.

I remember when Laura came over here to speak before; she had a heck of a good time. I bet you're probably wishing she was back. [*Laughter*] This is the 28th anniversary of this luncheon. Laura and I happen to have our 28th anniversary of our own coming up Saturday. You helped me remember. [*Laughter*] It's the best decision I ever made, was marrying Laura in Midland, Texas. Some question whether or not it was the best decision she ever made. [*Laughter*]

Speaking about decisions, I've got another decision to make, and maybe after the lunch, you can help me, and that is, what do I get her on the 28th anniversary? [*Laughter*] Never mind. [*Laughter*] Never mind. [*Laughter*] Sorry I asked. [*Laughter*]

Today America also honors the memory of one of the most inspiring women of the 20th century, Rosa Parks. Fifty years ago, in Montgomery, Alabama, this humble seamstress stood up to injustice by refusing a bus driver's order that she give up her seat for a white man. Her show of defiance was an act of personal courage that moved millions, including a young preacher named Martin Luther King. Rosa Parks' example helped touch off the civil rights movement and transformed America for the better. She will

always have a special place in American history, and our Nation thinks of Rosa Parks and her loved ones today.

I appreciate Lynne Pace, honorary chairman of the luncheon, and Cindy G. [*Laughter*] I tried it once—[*laughter*—and I'm not trying it again. [*Laughter*] I want to thank Linda Odierno. It's good to see Joyce Rumsfeld, Meryl Chertoff, who is the wife of Mike Chertoff, Dotty England, Mary Harvey. And I appreciate all the other spouses that are here to—that give me a chance to come.

I've got an important talk to you—I want to tell you some things. We meet at a critical time for our military and our Nation. At this hour, Americans in uniform are deployed around the world to defend our freedom and our security in the first war of the 21st century. They're carrying out dangerous missions with skill and courage and compassion. I hope you know this, but the entire Nation is proud of the men and women who wear our uniform. And so am I.

Every sailor, soldier, airman, marine, and coastguardsman who wears the uniform volunteered for duty. And they have something else in common: They all rely on the love and support of their families—their moms, their dads, their husbands, and their wives. You are the ones who send the care packages and send the e-mails. You're the ones who provide the daily encouragement for our folks overseas.

I know this is a trying time for our military spouses. Many of you have endured long separations from your husbands and wives. You miss them and worry about them and, all the while, keep things running at home. By standing behind those who serve, you're serving as well. The American people are grateful to the strength and sacrifice of our military spouses, and so am I.

Our service members and families are sacrificing for our country, and you deserve full support in return. You deserve the best possible pay. I've gladly signed legislation increasing basic military pay by 21 percent since 2001. You deserve extra compensation when your loved ones put themselves in harmed [*harm's*]* way, so we've increased imminent danger pay by 50 percent, and we

have more than doubled family separation pay.

You deserve comfortable and affordable places to live, so we've improved housing for families living on base, and we've eliminated out-of-pocket housing expenses for most families living off base. You deserve generous and flexible benefits, so we've made it easier for military families to get health care. We've extended tax filing deadlines. We've increased payments for servicemembers wounded in action, and we've improved education benefits for the National Guard and Reserve.

Every man and woman who volunteers to defend our Nation in battle, also deserves something else, an unwavering commitment to the mission and a clear strategy for victory. On the morning of September the 11th, 2001, we saw the destruction that terrorists intend for our Nation. We know that they want to strike again. And our Nation has made a clear choice: We will confront this mortal danger to all humanity. We will not rest or tire until the war on terror is won.

In 4 years since September the 11th, the evil that reached our shores has reappeared on other days, in other places, in Mombasa and Casablanca and Riyadh and Jakarta and Istanbul and Madrid and Beslan and Taba, Netanya, Baghdad, and elsewhere. In the past few months, we've seen a new terror offensive with attacks in London, Sharm el-Sheikh, and a deadly bombing in Bali once again. All these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random and isolated acts of madness. Innocent men and women and children have died simply because they were in the wrong train or worked in the wrong building or checked into the wrong hotel. Yet, while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil but not insane.

Some call this evil Islamic radicalism; others, militant Jihadism; still others, Islamofascism. Whatever it is called, this ideology is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent, political vision, the establishment—by terrorism, subversion, and insurgency—

* White House correction.

of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Hindus and Jews and also against Muslims who do not share their radical vision, whom they regard as heretics.

Many militants are part of a—global, borderless terrorist organizations like Al Qaida, which spreads propaganda and provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists and conducts dramatic and brutal operations like the attacks of September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups, often associated with Al Qaida, paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia and the Philippines and Pakistan and Chechnya and Kashmir and Algeria. Still others spring up in local cells, inspired by Islamic radicalism but not centrally directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with many branches than an army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world. And we know the vision of the radicals because they've stated it openly in videos and audiotapes and letters and declarations and on web sites.

First, these extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because we stand for democracy and peace, and we stand in the way of their ambitions. Al Qaida's leader, Usama bin Laden, has called on Muslims to dedicate, and I quote, their "resources, sons, and money to driving the infidels out of our lands." The tactics of Al Qaida and other Islamic extremists have been consistent for a quarter-century: They hit us and expect us to run.

Earlier this month, the world learned of a letter written by Al Qaida's number two leader, a man named Zawahiri, a letter he wrote to his chief deputy in Iraq, the terrorist Zarqawi. In it, Zawahiri points to Vietnam as a model for Al Qaida. He writes, "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam and how they ran and left their agents, is noteworthy." The terrorists witnessed a similar response after the attacks of American troops in Beirut in 1983, Mogadishu in 1993. They believe that Amer-

ica can be made to run again, only this time on a larger scale with greater consequences.

Secondly, the militant network wants to use the vacuum created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, a base from which to launch attacks and conduct their war against nonradical Muslim governments. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and Jordan for potential takeover. They've achieved their goal, for a time, in Afghanistan. And now they've set their sights on Iraq. In his recent letter, Zawahiri writes that Al Qaida views Iraq as, quote, "the place for the greatest battle." The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity. And we must recognize Iraq as the central front in our war on terror.

Third, the militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow all moderate governments in the region and establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia. Zawahiri writes that the terrorists, quote, "must not have their mission end with the expulsion of Americans from Iraq." He goes on to say, "The jihad requires several incremental goals: expel the Americans from Iraq; establish the Islamic authority over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq; extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq," end quote.

With the greater economic and military and political power they seek, the terrorists would be able to advance their stated agenda, to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to assault the American people, and to blackmail our Government into isolation.

Some might be tempted to dismiss these goals as fanatical or extreme. Well, they are fanatical and extreme, and they should not be dismissed. Our enemy is utterly committed. As Zarqawi has vowed, "We will either achieve victory over the human race, or we will pass to the eternal life." And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history.

Evil men obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience must be taken very seriously, and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.

Defeating the militant network is difficult because it thrives, like a parasite, on the suffering and frustrations of others. The radicals exploit local conflicts to build a culture of victimization in which someone else is always to blame and violence is always the solution. They exploit resentful and disillusioned young men and women, recruiting them through radical mosques as the pawns of terror. And they exploit modern technology to multiply their destructive power. Instead of attending faraway training camps, recruits can now access online training libraries to learn how to build a roadside bomb or fire a rocket-propelled grenade, and this further spreads the threat of violence, even within peaceful democratic societies.

The influence of Islamic radicalism is also magnified by helpers and enablers. They've been sheltered by authoritarian regimes, allies of convenience like Syria and Iran, that share the goal of hurting America and modern Muslim governments and use terrorist propaganda to blame their own failures on the West, on America, and on the Jews.

The radicals depend on front operations, such as corrupted charities which direct money to terrorist activity. They're strengthened by those who aggressively fund the spread of radical, intolerant versions of Islam in unstable parts of the world. The militants are aided as well by elements of the Arab news media that incite hatred and anti-Semitism, that feed conspiracy theories, and speak of a so-called American "war on Islam," with seldom a word about American action to protect Muslims in Afghanistan, in Bosnia, in Somalia, and Kosovo and Kuwait and Iraq, with seldom a word about—word about the generous assistance to Muslims recovering from natural disasters in places like Indonesia and Pakistan.

Some have argued that extremism has been strengthened by the actions of our coalition in Iraq, claiming that our presence in that country has somehow caused or triggered the rage of radicals. I would remind them that we were not in Iraq on September 11th, 2001, and Al Qaida attacked us anyway.

The hatred of the radicals existed before Iraq was an issue, and it will exist after Iraq is no longer an excuse.

The Government of Russia did not support Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet the militants killed more than 150 Russian schoolchildren in Beslan. Over the years, these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence, the Israeli presence on the West Bank or the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia or the defeat of the Taliban or the Crusades of a thousand years ago. In fact, we're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives, to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world.

No acts of ours involve the rage of killers. And no concessions, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans of murder. On the contrary, they target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down, never give in, and never accept anything less than complete victory.

The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet, in many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century. Like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard that presumes to speak for the Muslim masses. Bin Laden says his own role is to tell Muslims, and I quote, "what is good for them and what is not." And what this man who grew up in wealth and privilege considers good for poor Muslims is that they become killers and suicide bombers. He assures them that this is the road to paradise, though he never offers to go along for the ride. [*Laughter*]

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision. And this explains their coldblooded contempt for human life. We've seen it in the murders of Daniel Pearl, Nicholas Berg, and Margaret Hassan, and many, many others. In a courtroom in the Netherlands, the killer of Theo van Gogh turned to the victim's grieving mother and said, "I do not feel your pain because I believe you're an infidel." And in spite of this veneer of religious rhetoric, most

of the victims claimed by the militants are fellow Muslims.

When 25 Iraqi children are killed in a bombing or Iraqi teachers are executed at their school or hospital workers are killed caring for the wounded, this is murder, pure and simple, the total rejection of justice and honor and morality and religion. These militants are not just enemies of America or enemies of Iraq; they are the enemies of Islam and enemies of humanity.

We have seen this kind of shameless cruelty before in the heartless zealotry that led to the gulags, the Cultural Revolution, and the Killing Fields. Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Its leaders pretend to be an aggrieved party, representing the powerless against imperial enemies. In truth, they have endless ambitions of imperial domination. They wish to make everyone powerless except themselves. Under their rule, they have banned books and desecrated historical monuments and brutalized women. They seek to end dissent in every form, to control every aspect of life and to rule the soul itself. While promising a future of justice and holiness, the terrorists are preparing a future of oppression and misery.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. Zarqawi has said that Americans are, quote, "the most cowardly of God's creatures." But let us be clear: It is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs. It's cowardice that cuts the throat of a bound captive. It is cowardice that targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is the courage that liberated more than 50 million people. It is courage that keeps an untiring vigil against the enemies of a rising democracy. It is courage in the cause of freedom that will once again destroy the enemies of freedom.

And Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom, by distrusting human creativity and punishing change and limiting the contributions of half the population, this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible and human societies suc-

cessful. The only thing modern about the militants' vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt: Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation, decline, and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, free peoples will own the future.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and with a comprehensive strategy. Defeating a broad and adaptive network requires patience and constant pressure and strong partners in Europe, in the Middle East, in North Africa, and Asia and beyond. Working with these partners, we're disrupting militant conspiracies, destroying their ability to make war, and working to give millions in a troubled region of the world a hopeful alternative to resentment and violence.

First, we're determined to prevent the attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're reorganizing the Government to give this Nation a broad and coordinated homeland defense. We're reforming our intelligence agencies for the incredibly difficult task of tracking enemy activity, based on information that often comes in small fragments from widely scattered sources, here and abroad. And as we're acting, along with governments from many countries, we're doing so to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leaders.

Together with our coalition partners, we've disrupted a number of serious Al Qaida terrorist plots since September the 11th, including several Al Qaida plots to attack inside the United States. Our coalition against terror has killed or captured nearly all of those directly responsible for the September the 11th attacks, several of bin Laden's most senior deputies, Al Qaida managers and operatives in more than 24 countries, the mastermind of the U.S.S. *Cole* bombing, who was chief of Al Qaida operations in the Persian Gulf. We brought to justice the mastermind of the bombings in Jakarta and Bali,

a senior Zarqawi terrorist planner, and many of Al Qaida's senior leaders in Saudi Arabia.

Because of this steady progress, the enemy is wounded, but the enemy is still capable of global operations. Our commitment is clear: We will not relent until the organized international terror networks are exposed and broken and their leaders are held to account for their murder.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and to the terrorist allies who would use them without hesitation. The United States, working with Great Britain, Pakistan, and other nations, has exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs as well as its long-range ballistic missiles. In the last year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspected weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program. This progress has reduced the danger of free nations, but it has not removed it. Evil men who want to use horrendous weapons against us are working in deadly earnest to gain them. And we're working urgently to keep weapons of mass murder out of the hands of those fanatics.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. State sponsors like Syria and Iran have a long history of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the victims of terror. The United States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they are equally guilty of murder. Any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has chosen to be an enemy of civilization, and the civilized world must hold those regimes to account.

This week, the United Nations Security Council will hear a new report from an independent commission that points to Syrian involvement in the terrorist bombing that killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Hariri and 22 others last February. Syria is destabilizing Lebanon, permitting terrorists to use its territory to reach Iraq, and giving

safe harbor to Palestinian terrorist groups. The United Nations has passed strong resolutions against terror. Now the United Nations must act, and Syria and its leaders must be held accountable for their continuing support for terrorism, including any involvement in the murder of Prime Minister Hariri.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation, which they would use as a home base and launching pad for terror. This mission has brought new and urgent responsibilities to our Armed Forces, and because of that, it's brought urgent responsibilities to you all. American troops are fighting beside Afghan partners against remnants of the Taliban and their Al Qaida allies. We're working with President Musharraf to oppose and isolate the militants in Pakistan. We're fighting the regime remnants and terrorists in Iraq. The terrorists' goal is to overthrow a rising democracy, claim a strategic country as a haven for terror, destabilize the Middle East, and strike America and other free nations with ever-increasing violence. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies at the heart of their power, and so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive plan. As Secretary Rice explained last week, our strategy is to clear, hold, and build. We're working to clear areas from terrorist control, to hold those areas securely, and to build lasting, democratic Iraqi institutions. In recent weeks, American and Iraqi troops have conducted several major assaults to clear out enemy fighters in western Iraq and to help shut down terrorist entry routes from Syria. During one raid, our forces killed a top Zarqawi henchman named Abu Abdullah, who was responsible for attacks on American troops and on innocent Iraqis. Thousands of Iraqi forces have been participating in these operations, and many have remained in cities along with coalition forces to hold onto our gains and prevent the enemy from returning. Iraqi forces are using their local expertise to maintain security and to make tangible improvements in the lives of their fellow Iraqis.

At the same time, Iraqis are making inspiring progress toward building a democracy. Ten days ago, millions of Iraqis turned out

to vote on a constitution that guarantees fundamental freedoms and lays the foundation for lasting democracy. And today the Iraqi elections commission certified the passage of the constitution. Many more Sunnis participated in this vote than in January's historic elections, and the level of violence was dramatically lower. With their courageous vote, the Iraqi people have once again proved their determination to build a democracy united against extremism and violence.

An 85-year-old Iraqi woman cast a ballot in favor of the constitution after her son carried her on his back to the polls. Here's what she said. She said, "I went out to vote for it because I want the future to be safe and peaceful for my sons and my grandchildren."

We got more work to do, and it involves great risk for Iraqis and for American and coalition forces. A time of war is a time for sacrifice, and the greatest burden falls on military families. We've lost some of our Nation's finest men and women in the war on terror. Each of these men and women left grieving families and left loved ones back home. Each of these patriots left a legacy that will allow generations of their fellow Americans to enjoy the blessings of liberty. Each loss of life is heartbreaking. And the best way to honor the sacrifice of our fallen troops is to complete the mission and lay the foundation of peace by spreading freedom.

The sacrifices made by you and your loved ones in uniform are always on our minds and in our prayers. All of you also understand that sacrifice is essential to winning war, and this war will require more sacrifice, more time, and more resolve. The terrorists are as brutal an enemy as we have ever faced, unconstrained by any notion of common humanity and by the rules of warfare. No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead nor should they overlook the advantages we bring to this fight.

Some observers look at the job ahead and adopt a self-defeating pessimism. It's not justified. With every random bombing and every funeral of a child, it becomes more clear that the extremists are not patriots or resistance fighters; they are murderers at war with the Iraqi people themselves. In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard or

precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible political progress, from tyranny to liberation, to national elections, to the ratification of a constitution in the space of 2½ years.

And with our help, the Iraqi military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence with every passing month. At the time of our Fallujah operations nearly a year ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today, there are nearly 90 Iraqi army battalions fighting the terrorists alongside our forces. General David Petraeus said, "Iraqis are in the fight. They're fighting and dying for their country, and they're fighting increasingly well." The progress isn't easy, but it is steady. And no fair-minded person should ignore, deny, or dismiss the achievements of the Iraqi people.

Some observers question the durability of democracy in Iraq. They underestimate the power and appeal of freedom. We've heard it suggested Iraq's democracy must be on shaky ground because Iraqis are arguing with each other. *[Laughter]* That's the essence of democracy. *[Laughter]* You make your case; you debate those who disagree with you; you build consensus by persuasion; and you answer to the will of the people.

We've heard it said that the Shi'a and Sunnis and Kurds of Iraq are too divided to form a lasting democracy. In fact, democratic federalism is the best hope for unifying a diverse population, because a federal constitutional system respects the rights and religious traditions of all citizens while giving all minorities, including the Sunnis, a stake and a voice in the future of their country.

It's true that the seeds of freedom have only recently been planted in Iraq, but democracy, when it grows, is not a fragile flower. It's a healthy, sturdy tree. As Americans, we believe that people everywhere prefer freedom to slavery and that liberty, once chosen, improves the lives of all. And so we're confident, as our coalition and the Iraqi people each do their part, Iraqi democracy will succeed.

Some observers also claim that America would be better off by cutting our losses and leaving Iraq now. This is a dangerous illusion, refuted by a simple question: Would the United States and other free nations be more safe or less safe with Zarqawi and bin Laden

in control of Iraq, its people, and its resources? Having removed a dictator who hated free peoples, we will not stand by as a new set of killers, dedicated to the destruction of our country, seizes control of Iraq by violence.

There's always a temptation in the middle of a long struggle to seek the quiet life, to escape the duties and problems of the world, to hope the enemy grows weary of fanaticism and tired of murder. That would be a pleasant world, but it isn't the world in which we live. The enemy is never tired, never sated, never content with yesterday's brutality. This enemy considers every retreat of the civilized world as an invitation to greater violence. In Iraq, there is no peace without victory, and we will keep our nerve, and we will win that victory.

The fifth element of our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants of future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. This is difficult, and it's a long-term project. Yet there's no alternative to it. Our future and the future of that region are linked. If the broader Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in misery while radicals stir the resentments of millions, then that part of the world will be a source of endless conflict and mounting danger in our own generation and in the next. If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny and advance by their own energy and participation as free men and women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow and eventually end. By standing for the hope and freedom of others, we make our own freedom more secure.

America is making this stand in practical ways. We are encouraging our friends in the Middle East, including Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to take the path of reform, to strengthen their own societies in the fight against terror by respecting the rights and choices of their own people. We're standing with dissidents and exiles against oppressive regimes, because we know that the dissidents of today will be the democratic leaders of tomorrow. We're making our case through public diplomacy, stating clearly and confidently our be-

lief in self-determination and the rule of law and religious freedom and equal rights for women, beliefs that are right and true in every land and in every culture.

And as we do our part to confront radicalism, we know that the most vital work will be done within the Islamic world itself. And this work has begun. Many Muslim scholars have publicly condemned terrorism, often citing Chapter 5, Verse 32 of the Koran, which states that killing an innocent human being is the killing of all humanity—is like killing all humanity, and saving the life of one person is like saving all of humanity.

After the attacks in London on July the 7th, an imam in the UAE declared, "Whoever does such a thing is not a Muslim nor a religious person." The time has come for all responsible Islamic leaders to join in denouncing an ideology that exploits Islam for political ends and defiles a noble faith.

Many people of the Muslim faith are proving their commitment at great personal risk. Everywhere we have engaged the fight against extremism, Muslim allies have stood up and joined the fight, becoming partners in a vital cause. Afghan troops are in combat against Taliban remnants. Iraqi soldiers are sacrificing to defeat the Al Qaida in their own country. These brave citizens know the stakes, the survival of their own liberty, the future of their own region, the justice and humanity of their own tradition, and we are proud to stand beside them.

With the rise of a deadly enemy and the unfolding of a global ideological struggle, our time in history will be remembered for new challenges and unprecedented dangers. And yet the fight we've joined is also the current expression of an ancient struggle between those who put their faith in dictators and those who put their faith in the people. Throughout history, tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that murder is justified to serve their grand vision, and they end up alienating decent people across the globe. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that regimented societies are strong and pure, until those societies collapse in corruption and decay. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that free men and women are weak and decadent, until the day that free men and women defeat them.

We don't know the course of—our own struggle will take or the sacrifices that might lie ahead. We do know, however, that the defense of freedom is worth our sacrifice. We do know that the love of freedom is the mightiest force of history. We do know the strength and character that our troops and military families bring to the fight, and we do know that the cause of freedom will once again prevail.

These are historic times. It's a vital time for our Nation and the world. And I want to thank you for your courage and thank you for your sacrifice. May God bless your loved ones. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. at Bolling Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Jonnie Nance, chairman, Joint Armed Forces Officers' Wives Luncheon; Lynne Pace, wife of Gen. Peter Pace, USMC, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Cindy Giambastiani, wife of Adm. Edmund P. Giambastiani, USN, Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Linda Odierno, wife of Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, USA, Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Joyce Rumsfeld, wife of Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld; Meryl J. Chertoff, wife of Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff; Dorothy "Doty" England, wife of Secretary of the Navy Gordon R. England; Mary Harvey, wife of Secretary of the Army Francis J. Harvey; Usama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaida terrorist organization; Ayman Al-Zawahiri, founder of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and senior Al Qaida associate; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Mohammed Bouyeri, who was convicted of the murder of Theo van Gogh; Anneke van Gogh, mother of Theo van Gogh; Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, Al Qaida's chief of operations for the Persian Gulf; Nurjaman Riduan Isamuddin (also known as Hambali), Al Qaida's chief operational planner in Southeast Asia; A.Q. Khan, former head of Pakistan's nuclear program; President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan; Lt. Gen. David H. Petraeus, USA, former commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Massoud Barzani of the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government

October 25, 2005

President Bush. It's my honor to welcome President Barzani of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq to the Oval Office. He's a man of courage. He's a man who has stood up to a tyrant.

He wore this outfit because it wasn't all that long ago, if he had worn this outfit and was captured by Saddam Hussein's thugs, he would have been killed for wearing it. He feels comfortable wearing it here because we're a free land, and he feels comfortable wearing it in his home country because Iraq is free.

We had a very good discussion. The President was very helpful on the current constitution. I assured him that America will stand with the people that desire a free and democratic Iraq. The President is—has got a clear vision of the future of Iraq, one where different religions and different backgrounds—people of different religions and backgrounds can live together in peace.

And so, Mr. President, welcome. It's an honor to have you here.

President Barzani. Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the people of Kurdistan and myself to thank you very much. We in Kurdistan, particularly, and also in Iraq, generally, we highly value the courage and bravery of your leadership. I hope that everybody would realize what the fact on the ground is about Iraq. It was a brave decision that you have made. You have liberated a people from a dictatorial regime that has hurt a lot of the people.

At this time we express our condolences, and we express our sympathy to the families of your brave men and women in uniform, those who have sacrificed their lives in order to make other people free and liberated. There is no doubt that if we step back from this and not be determined, be rest assured that the terrorists will come to the gates of you and us, and they will fight us. Therefore, we have to think about nothing else but victory. And I'm quite confident that with your leadership, with your support and support of

the United States military and United States people and also the—heroes of the people of Iraq, in general, the people of Kurdistan, we will achieve success at the end.

For those who are antidemocratic and also those who are against the process, they are very limited, and those who are supportive of your leadership, supportive of democratic process, they are many, and they highly appreciate the sacrifices that have been made by the American people and the American army. There are also many in Iraq, in general, and also in Kurdistan, all of them are appreciative.

Thank you.

President Bush. Thank you, sir. Thanks for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:46 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. President Barzani spoke in Kurdish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 13388—Further Strengthening the Sharing of Terrorism Information To Protect Americans

October 25, 2005

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 1016 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (Public Law 108–458), and in order to further strengthen the effective conduct of United States counterterrorism activities and protect the territory, people, and interests of the United States of America, including against terrorist attacks, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. To the maximum extent consistent with applicable law, agencies shall, in the design and use of information systems and in the dissemination of information among agencies:

(a) give the highest priority to (i) the detection, prevention, disruption, preemption, and mitigation of the effects of terrorist activities against the territory, people, and interests of the United States of America; (ii) the interchange of terrorism information among agen-

cies; (iii) the interchange of terrorism information between agencies and appropriate authorities of State, local, and tribal governments, and between agencies and appropriate private sector entities; and (iv) the protection of the ability of agencies to acquire additional such information; and

(b) protect the freedom, information privacy, and other legal rights of Americans in the conduct of activities implementing subsection (a).

Sec. 2. Duties of Heads of Agencies Possessing or Acquiring Terrorism Information. To implement the policy set forth in section 1 of this order, the head of each agency that possesses or acquires terrorism information:

(a) shall promptly give access to the terrorism information to the head of each other agency that has counterterrorism functions, and provide the terrorism information to each such agency, unless otherwise directed by the President, and consistent with (i) the statutory responsibilities of the agencies providing and receiving the information; (ii) any guidance issued by the Attorney General to fulfill the policy set forth in subsection 1(b) of this order; and (iii) other applicable law, including sections 102A(g) and (i) of the National Security Act of 1947, section 1016 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (including any policies, procedures, guidelines, rules, and standards issued pursuant thereto), sections 202 and 892 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002, Executive Order 12958 of April 17, 1995, as amended, and Executive Order 13311 of July 29, 2003; and

(b) shall cooperate in and facilitate production of reports based on terrorism information with contents and formats that permit dissemination that maximizes the utility of the information in protecting the territory, people, and interests of the United States.

Sec. 3. Preparing Terrorism Information for Maximum Distribution. To assist in expeditious and effective implementation by agencies of the policy set forth in section 1 of this order, the common standards for the sharing of terrorism information established pursuant to section 3 of Executive Order 13356 of August 27, 2004, shall be used, as appropriate, in carrying out section 1016 of

the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

Sec. 4. Requirements for Collection of Terrorism Information Inside the United States. To assist in expeditious and effective implementation by agencies of the policy set forth in section 1 of this order, the recommendations regarding the establishment of executive branch-wide collection and sharing requirements, procedures, and guidelines for terrorism information collected within the United States made pursuant to section 4 of Executive Order 13356 shall be used, as appropriate, in carrying out section 1016 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

Sec. 5. Establishment and Functions of Information Sharing Council. (a) Consistent with section 1016(g) of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, there is hereby established an Information Sharing Council (Council), chaired by the Program Manager to whom section 1016 of such Act refers, and composed exclusively of designees of: the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, Defense, Commerce, Energy, and Homeland Security; the Attorney General; the Director of National Intelligence; the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Director of the National Counterterrorism Center; and such other heads of departments or agencies as the Director of National Intelligence may designate.

(b) The mission of the Council is to (i) provide advice and information concerning the establishment of an interoperable terrorism information sharing environment to facilitate automated sharing of terrorism information among appropriate agencies to implement the policy set forth in section 1 of this order; and (ii) perform the duties set forth in section 1016(g) of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

(c) To assist in expeditious and effective implementation by agencies of the policy set forth in section 1 of this order, the plan for establishment of a proposed interoperable terrorism information sharing environment reported under section 5(c) of Executive

Order 13356 shall be used, as appropriate, in carrying out section 1016 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

Sec. 6. Definitions. As used in this order:

(a) the term “agency” has the meaning set forth for the term “executive agency” in section 105 of title 5, United States Code, together with the Department of Homeland Security, but includes the Postal Rate Commission and the United States Postal Service and excludes the Government Accountability Office; and

(b) the term “terrorism information” has the meaning set forth for such term in section 1016(a)(4) of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

Sec. 7. General Provisions. (a) This order:

(i) shall be implemented in a manner consistent with applicable law, including Federal law protecting the information privacy and other legal rights of Americans, and subject to the availability of appropriations;

(ii) shall be implemented in a manner consistent with the authority of the principal officers of agencies as heads of their respective agencies, including under section 199 of the Revised Statutes (22 U.S.C. 2651), section 201 of the Department of Energy Organization Act (42 U.S.C. 7131), section 103 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403–3), section 102(a) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 112(a)), and sections 301 of title 5, 113(b) and 162(b) of title 10, 1501 of title 15, 503 of title 28, and 301(b) of title 31, United States Code;

(iii) shall be implemented consistent with the Presidential Memorandum of June 2, 2005, on “Strengthening Information Sharing, Access, and Integration—Organizational, Management, and Policy Development Structures for Creating the Terrorism Information Sharing Environment;”

(iv) shall not be construed to impair or otherwise affect the functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget relating to budget, administrative, and legislative proposals; and

(v) shall be implemented in a manner consistent with section 102A of the National Security Act of 1947.

(b) This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the Federal Government and is not intended to, and does not, create any rights or benefits, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by a party against the United States, its departments, agencies, instrumentalities, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.

Sec. 8. Amendments and Revocation. (a) Executive Order 13311 of July 29, 2003, is amended:

- (i) by striking “Director of Central Intelligence” each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof in each such place “Director of National Intelligence”; and
- (ii) by striking “103(c)(7)” and inserting in lieu thereof “102A(i)(1)”.

(b) Executive Order 13356 of August 27, 2004, is hereby revoked.

George W. Bush

The White House,
October 25, 2005.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 26, 2005]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 27.

Notice—Continuation of National Emergency Regarding the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

October 25, 2005

On November 14, 1994, by Executive Order 12938, President Clinton declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (weapons of mass destruction) and the means of delivering such weapons. On July 28, 1998, the President issued Executive Order 13094 amending Executive Order 12938 to respond more effectively to the worldwide threat of

weapons of mass destruction proliferation activities. On June 28, 2005, I issued Executive Order 13382 which, *inter alia*, further amended Executive Order 12938 to improve our ability to combat proliferation. Because the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, the national emergency first declared on November 14, 1994, must continue in effect beyond November 14, 2005. In accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12938, as amended.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
October 25, 2005.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 26, 2005]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on October 27.

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency Regarding the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

October 25, 2005

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent to the *Federal Register* for publication the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery declared by Executive Order

12938 on November 14, 1994, as amended, is to continue in effect beyond November 14, 2005. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was signed on November 4, 2004, and published in the *Federal Register* on November 8, 2004 (69 FR 64637).

Because the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, I have determined the national emergency previously declared must continue in effect beyond November 14, 2005.

George W. Bush

The White House,
October 25, 2005.

Remarks at the Republican National Committee Dinner

October 25, 2005

Thank you all. Thanks for coming. Please be seated. Thanks for the warm welcome. Mehlman didn't get the dress code—[laughter]—and neither did I. [Laughter] Thanks for having me. I'm proud to be here on the 30th birthday of the Eagles.

For three decades, Eagles have given great parties—[laughter]—but more importantly, they've supported our party. And I'm grateful. I want to thank you for all your help in years past. I want to thank you for your help this year. I want to thank you for the help in years to come. And it's important because it helps us get our message out, which is an optimistic vision for our country. We have a hopeful philosophy. We understand that government ought to be limited and that we ought to trust people to make decisions for their lives. We understand that the best way to grow an economy is to allow small-business owners and entrepreneurs to keep more of their own money, so they can invest and create jobs. We understand that this country has a duty to take care of those who hurt and to lead the world in laying the foundation for peace. Ours is a party of vision, and ours is a party of accomplishment. And I want to thank you for supporting it.

I gave a speech today, earlier, and I was reminded during the speech that Laura and

I are fixing to have a wedding anniversary. Sometimes giving speeches helps kind of trigger the memory bank. [Laughter] I asked the crowd there if they had any suggestions on what I ought to give her for the 28th wedding anniversary. Somebody yelled out, diamonds. And then, of course, I went straight to the speech. [Laughter]

But the reason I bring her up is, she sends her love and her best to all of you all. She is a great wife and a fantastic First Lady for the country.

I want to thank the chairman for the RNC, Ken Mehlman, for doing such a fantastic job. He's smart, and he's capable. He's taking our message all across the country. He's not afraid to go into halls where some might have an image of the Republican Party that isn't true. He knows what I know, that our philosophy is good for every American. And I want to thank you for your leadership, Ken, and I appreciate your service. And I also want to thank Jo Ann Davidson, who's the cochairman of the RNC. Thank you for being here.

I know we've got a Member of the United States Senate with us, a man who ran a heck of a race, really decent and honorable fellow, John Thune of South Dakota—somewhere around.

I appreciate Dwight Schar, the finance chairman of the RNC, and Martha. Thank you for your hard work, and thank you for your leadership. I appreciate Bill Paxon, who's the chairman of the RNC Majority Fund. I want to thank Bill for bringing his young daughter here tonight. I want to thank my friend Katie Boyd, who's the Eagles co-chairman—thank you for being here, Katie—and Mike Duncan, who's the general counsel of the RNC.

But most of all, thank you all for giving me a chance to come by and thank you and share some thoughts with you. First, I want to tell you that my job is to confront problems and not pass them on. My job is to make decisions on behalf of the people of this country. And I've got to tell you, I'm enjoying every minute of it. Our party is a party that is based upon sound principles. And one of the things I've learned here in Washington is you can't make good decisions unless you stand on principle. And that's exactly what

I've done as your leader, and that's exactly what I'll continue to do.

I've spent a lot of time thinking about this war on terror. I wish I could tell you it's over. It's not. We face a brutal enemy that has got an ideology and a strategy to impose their view on the world. They believe the exact opposite of what we believe in America. They believe that they should dictate religion. They believe that they ought to control the lives of all people. They are totalitarian in nature.

We stand for freedom. We believe that every man, woman, and child in America should be free to worship as he or she feels. We believe that democracy is the best form of government, to encourage progress and hope. We believe that women should be free. That's not what they think.

They've got one weapon, and that is their willingness to take innocent life. They'll kill women and children in order to try to achieve their aims. One of their objectives is to run America out of the broader Middle East. And they want to do so because they want to take over countries. They want to try to not only impose their vision on a group of people but also to have safe havens for—to plot and plan, to kill in greater numbers.

September the 11th was an important moment in the history of this country, and we still mourn for those who lost their lives. But I'll never forget the task at hand, and the task at hand is to find those enemies and bring them to justice before they hurt America again.

These folks—we don't face a set of grievances that can be soothed or addressed. No act of ours invited the rage of the killers, and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder. Against such an enemy, there's only one effective response: We'll never back down; we'll never give in; and never accept anything less than complete victory on the war on terror.

The killers have made it clear that Iraq is a central front in the war on terror, and we must understand that. They cannot stand the thought of a democracy evolving in the Middle East. They understand that freedom will lead to their defeat. And so we have a strategy. Our strategy is twofold: one, to pur-

sue a security plan that says, we're going to find these killers and find these foreign terrorists and bring them to justice so they don't kill innocent people. And at the same time, we're going to train Iraqi forces so they can do the job themselves. As Iraqis stand up, America will stand down. And we're making good, steady progress.

And at the same time that we help secure that society, we'll work with the Iraqis to help them develop a democracy. Ken mentioned a remarkable event that took place recently, and that is that millions of Iraqis went to the polls to vote for a constitution, which today was verified as having been approved by the Iraqi people. You know, writing a constitution is not an easy process. We had a little trouble ourselves here in America writing a constitution. And you might remember after our Constitution—and by the way, as I recall, two of the delegates from New York, the State of New York, stormed out of the Constitutional Convention. They weren't happy with what they saw.

And then, right after our Constitution was approved, you might remember, we amended it with the Bill of Rights. In other words, the Constitution is a process that brings people together, that says, "You can have a different point of view, but let's settle our differences peacefully, in the context of a democratic society." And that's what you're seeing in Iraq. We had elections in January. We had a constitution approved just last week, and there will be elections next December. Democracy is on the march, and that's important.

One of the stories I like to share with people is my relationship with Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan. He's an interesting man. He's a bold leader, as we recently saw when he tackled postal reform in Japan. I like him a lot. He is a good friend. He's a good, strong ally when it comes to keeping the peace in the Korean Peninsula. He put troops in Iraq because he understands democracy leads to peace. He is a friend of the United States of America.

Yet, 60 years ago, my dad and I'm sure some of your relatives, fought the Japanese. They were our bitter enemy. And so what took place between the time an 18-year-old Navy fighter pilot went to war and his son

as President can say to a group of friends, he's got a great relationship with the Prime Minister of Japan? I'll tell you what took place: Democracy happened. Democracy has got the capability of helping keep the peace.

Some say, "Perhaps we ought to just pull out of Iraq." That is a foolhardy policy. It's a policy that would invite disaster, not only for the Iraqis but for the American citizens. We will not allow Iraq to become a safe haven for the terrorists. We will promote democracy in Iraq, and we will lay the foundation for peace for generations to come. [*Applause*] Thank you all.

My biggest job—one of my biggest jobs is to defend our homeland. One way, as you can tell, the best way to do it is to stay on the offense, which we will do. We're dismantling Al Qaida, one person at a time. It doesn't matter how long it takes or where they hide, we will stay on the hunt. And at the same time, we're protecting the homeland by changing our homeland security operations, by strengthening our intelligence. Intelligence is an incredibly important tool in order to win this first war of the 21st century. And so we've reorganized our intelligence services to make sure the President and those around me have got the best information possible to be able to protect the homeland.

We passed good laws like the PATRIOT Act. The PATRIOT Act is a very important piece of legislation, which enables our prosecutors and law enforcement to share intelligence to break up terror cells before they strike. We've used it to good success to protect the homeland. The PATRIOT Act—provisions for the PATRIOT Act are set to expire pretty soon. I will remind the Congress that the terrorists aren't going to be going away pretty soon. We need the PATRIOT Act. Congress needs to get the PATRIOT Act to my desk, so we can have the tools necessary to protect this homeland.

I signed a Homeland Security bill the other day, and when I did so, I spent a lot of time talking about the need for this country to protect our borders. We have an obligation to the American people to increase manpower and technology, to increase retention space to secure our borders. That is a

solemn duty of the United States, and it's a duty I take seriously.

And at the same time we do so, we've got to be realistic about people crossing into our country to work. We need to match willing employer with willing employee for jobs that Americans will not do, on a temporary basis. We should not be granting amnesty, but we should be saying to willing worker and willing employer, "Here's a reasonable way for you to be able to hire people." That will take pressure off our border. Step one is to secure the border; step two is to have reasonable immigration policies. That will mean our border control agents won't have to worry about people sneaking into the country to work and will have the time to stop drugs, guns, and terrorists from coming into America.

I've spent a lot of time thinking about this economy. I want people to work. We want the small-business sector to remain strong. I want you to know, I understand that most new jobs are created by small businesses. And therefore, the policies we've implemented have been aimed at the small-business sector. And that started with good, solid, sound tax relief. The tax relief we passed is working, and Congress needs to make the tax relief permanent.

Speaking about tax relief, we need to get rid of the death tax once and for all. I say it's working because the facts back me up. The unemployment rate is 5.1 percent. That's below the average rate of the seventies, eighties, and nineties. Our economy is the fastest growing economy of any major industrialized nation. Homeownership is at an alltime high. This economy is strong, and we need to make sure we don't foul it up here in Washington, DC, by spending too much of your money.

Congress needs to get this message, that we will be wise with the taxpayers' money. If a program doesn't work, we ought to eliminate it. And if a program doesn't make sense, we ought to do away with it. And we need to set priorities, and a key priority is defending this homeland.

Ken mentioned to you that the—because of our fiscal responsibility in Washington last year and because of the tax cuts and because of our economic growth, the budget was \$108 billion less than expected—the budget deficit

was \$108 billion less than expected. Our plan is working. And I'm absolutely confident, by being wise with your money, we can help the people in the gulf coast recover from Katrina.

Here's our plan. To help offset the cost of Katrina we need to cut nonsecurity spending and achieve savings in mandatory spending. The House has got plans on the mandatory side that say \$50 billion; the Senate has got plans that say \$35 billion. I appreciate them working hard. It's a nice start. And there's more we can do together to say to the American people, we are setting priorities with your money, and we're going to spend it wisely, and we'll cut this deficit in half by 2009.

Yesterday, I made a decision that affects the economy. And that is, I named an outstanding individual to succeed another outstanding individual. Ben Bernanke's name has been sent up to the United States Senate to replace Alan Greenspan, and upon confirmation, you'll know what I know, that he's a sound, solid thinker that will be a good steward at the Federal Reserve.

We've got challenges to our economy, and one of those challenges is energy. I told the American people when I ran for office in 2000—and I've been telling them ever since—we need to become less dependent on foreign sources of energy. Now, first of all, I believe and I know that conservation can impact the energy supply situation. And so here at the Federal level, we're putting good, sound conservation measures in place.

Secondly, it ought to be clear to the American people that we need more gasoline. Do you realize we haven't built a new refinery since the 1970s? For the sake of national security and for the sake of our consumers, this country needs to expand our refining capacity. And we need more terminals for liquified natural gas. I mean, if you're worried about your heating bills—and you should be—one way to deal with it is to increase the supply available for consumers. And Congress must understand that. We need to get rid of needless regulations that hamper our capacity to increase the supply of energy to you all.

And at the same time, this Government is spending money on—to develop new fuels, like biodiesel and ethanol. We've got a major

hydrogen automobile project going forward. In other words, what I'm telling you is technology is going to help us achieve the objective of diversifying away from hydrocarbons so we're less dependent on foreign sources of oil.

Health care: We need a market-based, transparent, patient-centered health care system, where the Government doesn't tell you what to do, where you get to make the decisions. That's why I'm such a strong believer in health savings accounts. It's an amazing opportunity for small businesses to be able to control the cost of health care and at the same time, put their employees in charge of their health care decisions. I believe in association health plans which will allow small businesses to pool risk across jurisdictional boundaries. Small businesses ought to be able to go into the marketplace just like big businesses do, to buy insurance for their employees.

We're improving health information technology, which will help hold down the cost of medicine. We modernized Medicare, something no President or Congress has been able to do. You know, I've heard some say, "Well, Medicare, you know, it's an entitlement." Well, you're right. The Federal Government decided to provide health care for the elderly, and I decided to make sure the health care we provided for the elderly, provided elderly choices as well as prescription drug coverage.

And finally, when it comes to helping control the cost of health care, we need to do something about these frivolous lawsuits that are running good doctors out of practice. When I first came to Washington, I thought that medical liability reform was best left to the States until I saw the cost at the Federal level, of these junk lawsuits, which not only run up premiums but also cause docs to practice defensive medicine. We spend a lot of money on health care in Washington, DC, and these junk lawsuits are running up the cost to you. Medical liability reform is a national issue that requires a national solution, and I call upon the United States Senate to get a good medical liability bill to my desk.

And speaking about legal reform, we're making some progress in Congress. But I understand, and I hope you do as well, that

it's one thing to have a good judicial system where you can take a legitimate claim to court; it's another thing for lawyers to try to get rich off of filing frivolous lawsuits. We did a good job when we passed bipartisan class action reform and bankruptcy reform. And now the Congress needs to get an asbestos legal reform to my desk.

An issue that I've been talking about for quite a while is one that, oh, some said you probably shouldn't talk about. But I didn't come here not to deal with major problems. I guess that's in my nature. And so I've been talking about Social Security. And the reason I've been talking about it is because I understand the mathematics of Social Security. There's a lot of people like me. We're called baby boomers, and we're getting ready to retire. As a matter of fact, my retirement age happens to come in 2008, when I'll be 62. It's a coincidence. *[Laughter]* And there's a lot of people like me getting ready to retire. The problem is there's not a lot of young people paying in the system to pay ever-increasing benefits to my generation. And the system is going to go broke.

When I travel around the country and look at hard-working people paying payroll taxes into a system that's going broke, I feel I have an obligation to give them a heads up. But I have a further obligation. I have an obligation to say to the United States Congress: "Just don't mark time. Get a Social Security reform passed." And we can do it. It takes political will and courage from members of both political parties. And as we reform Social Security, we have a fantastic opportunity to increase ownership throughout our society. I believe a strong Social Security package must include personal savings accounts that will allow individuals to realize the advantage of compound rate of interest and, at the same time, have an asset they call their own. We want more people owning more assets in America, and now is the chance to provide that opportunity.

I've had a chance to name two good people as nominees to the Court. And I take this obligation and responsibility very seriously. As you know, I named a good man in John Roberts to be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and I want to thank the United States Senate for confirming him. And I had

another pick, and I named a really fine person in Harriet Miers to be considered by the United States Senate.

I was looking for somebody who knew the law, somebody who had been a good practicing attorney. Harriet Miers has been a pioneer in my State of Texas. She ran a big law firm, as a matter of fact, the first woman to do so in that firm. She was the president of the Texas State Bar Association. She was consistently named one of the 50 top women attorneys in the United States of America.

I wanted somebody who hadn't been on the court. I thought it was important for the Supreme Court to have a fresh perspective, somebody who had been practicing the law in real life. But more importantly, I was interested in having somebody on the Court who understands the judicial philosophy that I believe is important, that we ought to have people on the Court that will not legislate from the bench but will strictly interpret the Constitution of the United States. And that person is Harriet Miers.

Recently, you may have read where members of both parties have been demanding documents from the White House. See, it's very important for people to understand this issue. It's important for me to get good, sound advice in the Oval Office. It's important for people who work in the White House to be able to come in and tell me what's on their mind without fear of what they're having to tell me ends up in the newspapers. You see, in order to make sure that the President gets good advice, whether it be me or whoever is coming down the pike, there must be confidentiality in the White House. Asking for those documents is a redline, as far as I'm concerned, in protecting the White House and the ability to operate.

I don't know if you've ever read de Tocqueville. You ought to. He wrote a book in 1832 about America. He came over to look at our country and realized one of the great truths of America, and that is that the strength of our country lies in the hearts and souls of our citizens and that in America in the 1830s, citizens came together in what he called voluntary organizations to serve a cause greater than themselves.

One of my jobs is to make sure we never lose that spirit in America. One of my jobs

is to call upon our citizens to serve. For those of you who have got loved ones in the United States military, I want you to thank them on behalf of a proud Commander in Chief and tell them the American people stand squarely with those who wear the uniform.

Service goes beyond the military. Service goes beyond Washington. You can serve our country by teaching a child how to read. You can serve our country by mentoring the lonely or feeding the hungry or providing shelter for the homeless. You know, one of the amazing things in the aftermath of Katrina was the incredible response. Citizens all across the country who opened their arms and welcomed a stranger in need. That's the true spirit of America.

And those of us in Washington, DC, must constantly work to keep that spirit alive and strong. And one of the most important initiatives of my Presidency is the Faith-Based and Community Based Initiative. It recognizes that Government is limited in its capacity to love. It's an initiative that says faith-based programs—people of all faith—can compete for Federal money to help us cure society's ills. We must not fear the involvement of faith in helping change America, one heart at a time. We must welcome faith in changing America, one heart at a time.

I am amazed by the spirit of this country. It is strong, and it is resilient. And it is because we're a land of amazing people. We've got people who have newly arrived to our country who realize this is a land where you can dream the big dream and achieve security for your family if you work hard. We're a land where neighborhood healers step up and answer the universal call to love a neighbor, and they don't even need the Government to tell them to. We're a land where people bind together to achieve big things. That's America, and it is an incredible honor to be the President of such an incredibly strong and compassionate and decent country.

I want to thank you for giving me a chance. I want to thank you for supporting our cause. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:55 p.m. at the Andrew W. Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Martha Schar, wife of Republican

National Committee finance chair Dwight Schar; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

Remarks to the Economic Club of Washington, DC

October 26, 2005

Thank you, all. It's about time you invited a President. [*Laughter*] Thanks for having me. As you know, there was an important Presidential election last year. There was a lot of debate, and the stakes were high. Fortunately for all of us here, it came out the right way. Vernon Jordan was elected president. [*Laughter*] My only regret is Vernon didn't tell me this was lunch. [*Laughter*] I was looking for some warm food.

But it's good to be here; thanks for inviting. I appreciate all of you taking a lead in the economic vitality of this in—city. It's—as a part-time resident, I'm pulling for a good economy and job creation. Most of all, I appreciate the fact that you provide scholarships for graduate students. I think it's a noble cause to do that. It's impressive that you understand that we have a duty to pay back to society. And the idea of providing scholarships for graduate students who want to study economics and business is a good idea, and I hope you keep doing it.

You know, one of the important things about America is that in a capitalist system people who benefit from the system understand there's an obligation to put something back into the system, an obligation to help people in need. And I want to thank you for leading the way.

I appreciate the board of directors having me here. I appreciate the DC government officials who are here.

I'm going to talk a little bit about the economy. My most important duty as regards the economy is to foster an economic environment that encourages entrepreneurship. Government does not create wealth. The role of Government is to create an environment in which people can feel comfortable risking capital and realizing dreams. That's how I view my role.

I took a step toward that—I took an important step last Monday when I nominated a distinguished economist named Ben

Bernanke. Perhaps some of you know him. He's a decent man. He brings impeccable credentials and sound policy judgment and sound character to this vital post. And he will continue the superb leadership that Alan Greenspan has provided at the Fed.

We have got a resilient and strong economy. If you think about what this economy has been through, I think you'll agree with me it's been resilient and strong. In the past 5 years—that happens to be the amount of time I've been here—this economy has been through a stock market bubble. We've been through a recession. We had the attacks of September the 11th. We had corporate scandals. We've had the rising price of energy, and we've had natural disasters. And these were shocks to our system. It required action to make sure America was a good place to risk capital. They forced us to make choices here in Washington. We could have tried to solve problems by raising taxes and dictating solutions from the Nation's Capital. That's not the route I decided to go.

We gave Americans an opportunity to keep more of what they earn and let them decide the best way to save and spend and invest their money. To get our economy moving again, this administration has followed a clear principle: We put our trust in the hard work and good sense of the American people.

And so that's why we cut the taxes. We cut taxes on families by lowering the rates. We cut taxes on the child credit. We reduced the marriage penalty. We cut taxes on dividends and capital gains to encourage investment. We cut taxes on small-business owners who often pay their business taxes at the individual income-tax rate. We created incentives for small businesses to invest in new equipment, expand, and create jobs. And to help our families and our farmers and entrepreneurs pass on the results of a lifetime of hard work to their loved ones, we put the death tax on the road to extinction.

These progrowth policies have worked. Real disposable personal income has grown by nearly \$1,900 per capita. Homeownership has reached an alltime high. More minorities own a home today in America than ever before in our Nation's history. Productivity is growing at the fastest rate in nearly 40 years.

Over the past 28 months, America's entrepreneurs and—have created more than 4.2 million new jobs. The unemployment rate is 5.1 percent. That's lower than the average rate of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These policies have helped us achieve a growth rate of 3.6 percent over the past year, more than 3 times that of Europe and nearly twice that of Japan. The unemployment rate is roughly half of the unemployment rates in Germany and France—I might remind you, countries where workers and businesses face higher taxes, a lot of regulation, and big Government. When people in these countries look for a place to invest their savings, by the way, they look right here to the United States of America.

Our economic policies have helped create jobs, growth, and opportunity, yet every day brings new and stiff competition for our Nation's workers and businesses. In the coming decades, there's going to be a time of great opportunity if we make the right decisions, if Government doesn't foul it up. So we're moving forward with an agenda to ensure that America is entrepreneurial heaven, the place where people can realize their dreams.

The agenda starts with keeping taxes low and restraining the spending appetite of the Federal Government. Tax relief left more money in the pockets of the people, and that's been a vital part of the growth of our economy. Yet, tax relief is set to expire in the years ahead. We need certainty in the Tax Code. We need to say to our risktakers, "Here's the way the Tax Code is going to look in the years ahead." Therefore, I think it's important that we make the tax relief permanent.

As we provide more incentives for people to work and invest, tax relief has led to faster economic growth, which is translated into faster revenue for the Federal Treasury. This year, thanks to rising revenues and wise fiscal policy, the deficit was \$108 billion less than expected. To continue reducing the deficit, we need to keep the taxes low, and we've got to redouble our efforts to be wise about how we spend your money.

Earlier this year, I submitted the most disciplined proposal for nonsecurity discretionary spending since Ronald Reagan was in the White House. My budget proposed

an actual cut in spending on nonsecurity discretionary spending. Congress needs to make that cut real. And I'm open to a further across-the-board spending cut as well. My budget has proposed vital reforms in mandatory spending that will save the taxpayers \$187 billion over the next decade, part of our plan to cut our deficit in half by 2009.

Some have said that the unprecedented destruction caused by the recent hurricanes means that we've put—got to put our plans to cut the deficit on hold. I disagree. We don't have to do that. We can help the people of the gulf coast region recover and rebuild, and we can be good stewards of the taxpayers' dollars at the same time, which means we're going to have to reduce unnecessary spending elsewhere in the budget. My administration is working with Congress to identify offsets and spending rescissions so we can provide for emergency relief in a fiscally responsible way.

I met with the leader of the House and the Senate today, and we're working on a plan for pushing significant reductions in mandatory and discretionary spending. Both Houses are on progress—making progress toward cuts that'll show the American people we're capable of being wise about the money and at the same time, meet our priorities. I encourage Congress to push the envelope when it comes to cutting spending.

See, believe it or not, up here in Washington, there's a lot of programs that simply don't deliver results. *[Laughter]* And if it doesn't deliver results, we ought to get rid of them. That will help us meet our priorities, winning the war on terror and helping the people down there in Katrina, making sure our kids get educated.

If we keep taxes low and restrain spending, we also have got some other long-term challenges to the economy. This economy of ours, as I mentioned, has shown resilience because it's flexible and responsive. But there are three broad challenges we've got to confront. First is, we all must be concerned about our growing dependence on foreign sources of energy. Our families and businesses are hurting because of higher gasoline prices. It's like a hidden tax on the American people. Gasoline prices drain the budgets of

our families. They run up the cost on the small-business owners.

And the damage inflicted by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita pushed the prices even higher, disrupting oil and natural gas and gasoline production along the gulf coast. These natural disasters have highlighted a problem that Congress needs to pay attention to. It's a problem I've been talking about since I first came to Washington: Our energy supplies are not keeping up with consumption, and that's why people's prices are going up.

Now, I appreciate the work of Congress. I signed a good energy bill this summer. The bill makes an unprecedented commitment to energy conservation and efficiency by promoting new technologies and giving consumers incentives to use energy-saving products. And that was an important title, the energy bill, the conservation title. The bill helps America make cleaner and more productive use of our existing energy resources, like coal and oil and natural gas. And for the sake of energy independence, I know that we can build safe and efficient nuclear powerplants, and this country needs to get after it.

This bill helps diversify our supply by promoting alternative and renewable energy sources such as ethanol and biodiesel. And we're making progress in developing the technologies that'll be able to use corn or soybeans to be the feedstock for energy. I mean, it makes sense, doesn't it? We grow a lot of corn, and we grow a lot of soybeans. I hope one day, the President is sitting in the Oval Office and somebody walks in and says, "Hey, the crops are strong this year. It means we're less dependent on foreign sources of energy."

The bill also helps promote needed investment in our energy infrastructure. It's a good piece of legislation. But it's only a first step. Congress needs to take more steps. We've got to allow environmentally responsible oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, if we want to become less dependent on foreign sources of energy. We need to build and expand our refineries. Do you realize we have not built a new refinery since the early 1970s in America? People wonder why the gasoline price goes up. It's because we don't have enough supply. People are conserving more, and that's good. But we

need more supply of gasoline, for the sake of our consumers and for the sake of our economy. And so I'm going to work with Congress to pass a bill that makes it easier for current refineries to expand, that encourages the construction of new refineries so that we've got more affordable fuel for the American people.

In the long term, reducing our dependence on foreign oil requires looking beyond fossil fuels. So we're making investments necessary to move from a hydrocarbon economy to a hydrogen economy. In other words, what I'm telling you is, is that investments in technologies are going to allow us to diversify away from the era of oil and gas. In 2003, we launched an aggressive program called the Hydrogen Fuel Initiative. When hydrogen is used in a fuel cell, it can power consumer products from computers to cell phones to cars that emit pure water instead of exhaust fumes. And I appreciate the Congress in dedicating \$1.2 billion into hydrogen fuel research. Here's the dream—and I think it's going to happen—that your children—your grandchildren, for some of you—[*laughter*]*—*children, for the younger—will be able to take their driver's test in an automobile powered by hydrogen.

Secondly, we've got to ensure that we have an education system that prepares a new generation of American workers to fill the jobs of the 21st century. And that starts with making sure we get it right at the elementary schools. I want to thank Members of Congress for working with me on the No Child Left Behind Act. Let me tell you the philosophy behind that. I don't believe you can solve problems unless you measure. If you're running a business, it's hard to solve problems if you don't measure. And so inherent in the No Child Left Behind Act is the following philosophy: One, every child can learn, and we want to know if they are learning. You see, a system that doesn't hold people to account basically assumes certain children can't learn, and it's okay just to shuffle them through the school. That's unacceptable in America, as far as I'm concerned.

The No Child Left Behind Act challenges what I've called the soft bigotry of low expectations by raising standards and raising accountability and says to the school districts,

"We'll get you money for—particularly your Title I students—but you measure; you measure in the early grades to show us whether or not a child can read and write and add and subtract. And if not, do something about it; change." And we're beginning to see results.

On this year's NAEP test, fourth grade reading scores were six points higher than in the year 2000. That's progress. Fourth grade math scores were the highest in the history of the test. Minority students made progress toward achieving—closing an achievement gap in America, a gap which, by the way, is unacceptable in this country. And there's more work to be done.

I think we ought to extend the same high standards and accountability to our high schools so that when somebody graduates from high school, the diploma means something. Most of the jobs in the 21st century will demand advanced training and technical expertise, as well as retraining over the course of a lifetime. That's why I'm such a strong believer in the community college system.

We've got programs out of the Labor Department that simplifies the job training programs, that diversifies them and that streamlines them from their inadequate bureaucracies. It's unbelievable what—the strings attached to job training money here in Washington, DC, so we're trying to eliminate those strings so the money goes to places that are actually providing a result. I've traveled this country, and I've been to community colleges all over that are doing a fantastic job by giving the people the skills for the jobs which actually exist. And so we're going to continue pursuing a strong job training program in institutions that work and that are capable, that have got curriculum that are flexible and schools that are affordable, and people that are trained—being trained for jobs which are actually existing.

And finally, we've got to make sure more Americans can go to 4-year colleges, and so we've provided more assistance in the form of Pell grants. To make sure that the economic environment in this country is conducive to growth, we've got to make sure our workforce is educated.

Thirdly, we must have a health care system that puts patients in charge of decisions, that offers greater choice, and allows workers to own their own health care. Listen, I understand the rising cost of health care has imposed large costs on your businesses and on our families. But we've begun to make changes here in Washington. I was pleased to sign a bill that confronts costs and creates choice by giving Americans the option of health savings accounts. It's a really innovative product that gives you affordable coverage for major illnesses and allows the worker to save money tax-free for routine medical expenses. It puts the consumer in charge of making health care decisions.

Once you have your HSA, by the way, you can roll over money on a tax-free basis year to year, and you can take it with you from job to job. I strongly urge you to look into HSAs if you're running a business here. Many Americans are already benefiting from the security and—of HSAs. I proposed tax relief for individuals and employers and low-income families to use HSAs, and I hope the Congress responds.

As we make health care more accessible and affordable, we're strengthening the safety net. When I came to office, I pledged to open or expand 1,200 community health centers to serve an additional 6.1 million people in need of health care. So far, we've opened or expanded more than 800 community health centers. These are cost-effective, smart facilities. It helps the poor and the indigent get much needed primary care. The budget for 2006 provides funding to open or expand more than 500 more community health centers.

We also renewed the promise of Medicare. Medicare is a really important program, obviously. It needed to be reformed. If you're going to have a health care system for the elderly, it seemed like to me the health care system ought to be modern. Do you realize, prior to the reforms that the Congress passed and I proudly signed, Medicare would pay \$100,000 for a heart surgery but not a dime for the prescription drugs that would prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place? The system was outdated, and it didn't make sense.

And so I worked with Congress for the most significant reform since Medicare was established. Inherent in that bill is not only modernizing the medicine that people get, but it also gives seniors choices. I believe if consumers have more choices, it helps to control cost and enhances the quality of a product someone is able to get.

I also believe that we ought to have what's called association health plans, which will allow small businesses to pool across jurisdictional boundaries, to be able to afford insurance at the same discounts that big businesses get. It's a commonsense way to help small businesses insure people. The bill got out of the House; it's stuck in the Senate. The Senate, if they are concerned about the cost of health care for our small businesses, needs to pass association health plans.

And finally, we're working to expand information technology in the field of medicine. If you've ever looked at the IT part of medicine, you'll be amazed at how backwards it is. I mean, it's easier to get information on buying a car than it is on health care items. And that doesn't make any sense. So we've got a goal to computerize medical records that will help make America's health care more transparent and more efficient, which will help patients make rational choices and help doctors save lives.

To reduce the cost of health care, we've got to do something about medical liability. We've got a problem in America. I've been to States where they have trouble finding an ob-gyn because they're getting—these good docs are getting sued out of business. It just doesn't make any sense to have a medical liability system that's out of control.

When I first came up here—these former Governors will be pleased to hear—I thought that medical liability was mainly a State issue, until I realized that there's tremendous cost to the—to Federal medicine. And after all, we're paying for Medicaid and Medicare and veterans benefits. And when the docs who are getting reimbursed by the Federal Government practice defensive medicine, it runs up the cost to the taxpayers. And when the premiums on their policies go up as a result of these junk lawsuits, it runs up the cost to the taxpayers. I've come to the conclusion that medical liability is a national issue that

requires a national response. I got a good bill out of the House. The Senate needs to pass medical liability reform so medicine is available and affordable for the American citizens.

And speaking about tort reform, a part of making sure America is competitive in the world and this is a good place to risk capital, we need more tort reform out of the Congress. We took an important step when we passed class-action reform and bankruptcy reform. I signed a bill today that said if you manufacture a legal product, you shouldn't get sued for it. Now the House and the Senate need meaningful asbestos reform, and they need to get it to my desk as soon as possible.

We also need to confront the long-term problems confronting our entitlements. If this country wants to stay competitive throughout the 21st century, we have got to do something about Social Security and Medicare. And, as you know, I have brought up the—they told me not to talk about it when I first got up here. [*Laughter*] But I've been talking about it ever since I've been running and—for President and since I've been the President, because I believe the job of a President is to confront problems and not pass them on to future Presidents and future Congresses.

And we've got a problem. It starts with the fact that baby boomers like me are getting ready to retire. It just so happens I turn 62 in the year 2008, which is quite convenient. [*Laughter*] And there's a lot of me. I'm getting—[*laughter*]—a lot of people like me. [*Laughter*] I mean, there are millions and millions of baby boomers relative to the folks that are going to be paying for my retirement and your retirement. The system is going broke. You know, I give a lot of speeches and look out in the audience and see people working hard to pay their payroll taxes, and they're paying payroll taxes into a system that's just not going to be around unless we do something about it.

And so I've made some proposals to the Congress, proposals that work with how fast benefits will go up, proposals that said, "If you're in the—a poor American, nothing is going to change for you. If you're a wealthy

American, your benefits will grow, but at a slower rate."

We also have a fantastic opportunity as we strengthen and modernize Social Security to allow younger workers, if they so choose, to put a part—some of their own money in a personal savings account so they can take advantage of the compound rate of interest, a personal savings account they get to call their own, asset base the Government can't take away, an asset base that somebody can pass on to whomever he or she chooses.

Part of our mission has got to be to encourage ownership in America. And one way to spread ownership throughout our society into neighborhoods where some may not own anything, is to allow them to save some of their own money—their choice—in a personal savings account as part of Social Security reform.

I'm going to continue to talk to the American people on this issue and insist that Congress do the right thing and work together to save Social Security.

And finally, we've all got to remember we live in a global economy. This country is home to about 5 percent of the world's population, which means 95 percent of potential customers live abroad. Millions of Americans—at least their jobs—depend on exports. And so to keep this economy growing and creating jobs, we've got to continue to open up markets for American products.

When I came to Congress—when I came to office, I asked Congress to grant trade promotion authority. My administration has put that authority to good use. We've completed free trade agreements with 12 nations on 5 continents. We've opened a combined market of 124 million consumers for American products. Earlier this year, we completed a free trade agreement with Central American nations that gives our goods and services the same access in Central America that their goods already get here. In other words, we leveled the playing field. My attitude is, is that our producers and farmers and workers can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere, so long as the playing field is level.

To continue to open up new markets for goods and services and farm products, we have got to work for a free and fair global trading system. The United States has taken

a leadership role in working toward a successful conclusion to the Doha trade negotiations at the World Trade Organization. A successful Doha round will reduce and then eliminate tariffs and other barriers on farm and industrial goods, will phase out unfair agricultural subsidies and open up global markets for services and products and leave all nations better off. The Doha negotiations are now at a critical point.

Recently, the United States has come forward with a bold proposal in the critical area of agriculture to reenergize the talks. Now other nations must come forward with similarly ambitious proposals. Together we have an historic opportunity to knock down trade barriers and create economic growth and reduce poverty throughout the world. As Presidents from John Kennedy to Ronald Reagan to Bill Clinton have recognized, trade is the most certain path to lasting prosperity for people not only here but around the world. So I'm going to continue to pursue trade agreements on a bilateral, regional, and global level, to open up markets and to maintain our position as a strong economy in the world.

It's important that people in Washington not use trade as a political issue. The objective is to have strong support from Republicans and independents and discerning Democrats, like Vernon Jordan. *[Laughter]* I've been disappointed with how the trade debates have gone in Washington. In the 1990s, many Democrats supported important trade agreements such as NAFTA. Fewer and fewer Democrats today are willing to stand by that position and support trade bills that are good for American workers. It's time to get politics out of trade policy and focus on what's best for the United States of America.

I appreciate you giving me a chance to come by and visit with you about the economy. We'll keep making the decisions necessary to ensure that the entrepreneurial spirit is strong, that the small-business sector can grow, and that people have got a chance to realize their dreams.

We've got a remarkable country, when you think about it. I mean, think about a land where a person can come here from anywhere or grow up in a neighborhood, maybe,

where there's no hope, and they have a dream of starting their own business and creating wealth and raising a family and owning a home. It's possible in this country. It's not only possible; it's likely, if you work hard. That's the greatest thing about our country. You know, it's such an honor to travel the world, and it always strikes me about how bright the American future is for people.

And our job in Washington is to keep it bright and to keep it hopeful and keep making decisions that end up encouraging people to work hard and realize their dreams. This economy is strong. It's going to stay strong. And I appreciate you're working to keep it that way.

Thanks for having me. Mr. President, I appreciate the invitation. May God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:02 p.m. at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Vernon E. Jordan Jr., president, Economic Club of Washington, DC. The President also referred to Title I of the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (Public Law No. 103-382), which amended Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law No. 89-10).

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Vlado Buckovski of Macedonia

October 26, 2005

President Bush. It's been my honor to welcome the Prime Minister of Macedonia to the Oval Office. Prime Minister, I am grateful for your friendship. I am grateful for the strong support that you have given in our efforts to win the war on terror. You've been a steadfast ally, and the American people are grateful. I also appreciate the fact that you have committed troops alongside our troops in some of the world's newest democracies, in Afghanistan and Iraq. I want to thank you for that as well.

I also appreciate the progress you've made in implementing the Ohrid Agreement. You've showed the world that it's possible for people of different backgrounds to live together in peace. I want to thank you for your leadership. I also compliment you on

the progress you've made toward implementing the reforms necessary for consideration in NATO and the EU. I know this is a big concern to you. I want to thank you for sharing your thoughts with me about your country's desire to join NATO and your aspirations for the EU. I appreciate that very much. Thank you for your confidence.

All in all, I'm impressed by your leadership and welcome you to the Oval Office.

Prime Minister Buckovski. Thank you, Mr. President. I feel be here in the White House with President Bush—and the historic 10th anniversary of the U.S.-Macedonian bilateral relations, which I must say, have never been closer. We have agreed that today Macedonia is a success story in building a stable, multiethnic democracy in the Balkans.

I thanked President Bush for the continued U.S. support of our democracy, specifically for the U.S. role in the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, and to also express the gratitude of the people of Macedonia for U.S. recognition of our constitutional name, Republic of Macedonia.

And I told the President that we are proud to have our soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, and that we intend to stay there as long as it is needed. We highly appreciate the leadership of President Bush—and advancing freedom and democracy throughout the world. We have both emphasized the importance of Macedonia's NATO integration and EU candidacy in cementing our progress and helping the region make the final step on the path of the Europe.

And finally, I told President Bush that Macedonia will continue to play a positive and constructive role in the Balkans, especially now, when Belgrade and Pristina, together, lead the international community, will start negotiation about eventual permanent status of Kosovo.

President Bush. Thank you. Appreciate you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:46 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at the White House Conference on Helping America's Youth

October 27, 2005

Thank you all. Thanks for the warm welcome to Laura. Please be seated. Thank you. I am the introducer—[laughter]—a rare role for me these days but one I've been looking forward to.

First of all, thank you all for coming. I want to thank Howard University for hosting this important summit. I love to be with the armies of compassion. At my State of the Union last year, I asked Laura to lead an initiative to help young people grow up to be successful adults. And since that State of the Union, she has taken me up on my request, and she has traveled the country to observe and find best practices and programs that are changing people's lives for the better.

And so she called this summit to serve as a catalyst to continue to rally decent, honorable people who are working hard to make sure young Americans have a chance to realize the promise of this country. She is a great leader of this cause, a wonderful wife, and a wonderful First Lady for our country.

Laura Bush.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 a.m. at Howard University. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the First Lady.

Remarks During a Tour of Areas Damaged by Hurricane Wilma in Pompano Beach, Florida

October 27, 2005

The President. I have come here with the Governor and the mayor of this area because I wanted to thank all the volunteers who have come down to help the people in need. And it's an amazing spirit after a disaster, and that spirit is the spirit of people willing to give of their time. I've also come to make sure the Federal response dovetails in with the State response. And people here—what I've

heard is people are concerned about gasoline. A lot of the gasoline—the lines that people are standing in will be alleviated by new ships coming in, and they'll be able to off-load the gasoline to make sure the stations have got fuel. But a lot of the gasoline issue relates to the fact that electricity is not up and running.

I know people are frustrated because they don't have power on yet, but I've been told by Jeb and others that at least 6,000 people from out of State are working with the power people here in-State to get people's lines up as quick as possible. In other words, this is a priority. These people are working hard to get your electricity back on.

The mayor wanted me to make sure that I told the citizens here that water and ice are moving quite rapidly, and that one of her concerns is generators. And Jeb and I spoke to her about the generators that are being moved from a central location to parts of Florida that need the generating capacity to get their life up and running.

Things don't happen instantly, but things are happening. Right here on this site people are getting fed. Soon, more and more houses will have their electricity back on and life will get back to normal. In the meantime, the Federal Government, working with the State and local government, is responding as best as we possibly can.

Again, I'm impressed by the deep compassion and care of our fellow citizens. Out of these disasters oftentimes comes some good. And one of the good that comes out of a disaster is it gives people a chance to love a neighbor, to help somebody in need.

So thank you all for giving me a chance to come by.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida; and Mayor Kristen Jacobs of Broward County, FL. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement Announcing the Withdrawal of the Nomination of Harriet E. Miers To Be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court

October 27, 2005

Today I have reluctantly accepted Harriet Miers' decision to withdraw her nomination to the Supreme Court of the United States.

I nominated Harriet Miers to the Supreme Court because of her extraordinary legal experience, her character, and her conservative judicial philosophy. Throughout her career, she has gained the respect and admiration of her fellow attorneys. She has earned a reputation for fairness and total integrity. She has been a leader and a pioneer in the American legal profession. She has worked in important positions in State and local government and in the bar. And for the last 5 years, she has served with distinction and honor in critical positions in the executive branch.

I understand and share her concern, however, about the current state of the Supreme Court confirmation process. It is clear that Senators would not be satisfied until they gained access to internal documents concerning advice provided during her tenure at the White House—disclosures that would undermine a President's ability to receive candid counsel. Harriet Miers' decision demonstrates her deep respect for this essential aspect of the Constitutional separation of powers—and confirms my deep respect and admiration for her.

I am grateful for Harriet Miers' friendship and devotion to our country. And I am honored that she will continue to serve our Nation as White House Counsel.

My responsibility to fill this vacancy remains. I will do so in a timely manner.

Statement on the Launch of a Nationwide Effort To Respond to the South Asia Earthquake

October 27, 2005

Five distinguished private-sector leaders have agreed to launch a nationwide effort to encourage private donations for relief and reconstruction in response to the South Asia

earthquake that occurred on October 8. These leaders will work with other Americans to raise awareness and resources to help those in need as a result of this disaster.

This private-sector effort will complement the commitment the United States Government has made in terms of funding, relief commodities, and critical military logistical support. In addition, the United States has sent a delegation, headed by USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios, to the United Nations Emergency Donors' Conference for South Asia Earthquake Relief in Geneva.

The business leaders are Jeff Immelt, chairman and CEO of the General Electric Company; Hank McKinnell, Jr., Ph.D., chairman and CEO of Pfizer, Inc.; Sandy Weill, chairman of Citigroup, Inc.; Anne Mulcahy, chairman and CEO of Xerox Corporation; and Jim Kelly, former chairman and CEO of United Parcel Service of America, Inc. In the coming days, they will ask Americans to donate directly to a fund set up to provide help to the earthquake victims.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Bangladesh-United States Taxation Convention

October 27, 2005

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification a Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Bangladesh for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income signed at Dhaka on September 26, 2004 (the "Convention"). An exchange of notes is enclosed, and the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention is transmitted for the information of the Senate.

This Convention, which is similar to tax treaties between the United States and other developing nations, provides maximum rates of tax to be applied to various types of income and protection from double taxation of income. The Convention also provides for the resolution of disputes and sets forth rules making its benefits unavailable to those who are engaged in treaty forum shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention and that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification.

George W. Bush

The White House,
October 27, 2005.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the United Nations Convention Against Corruption

October 27, 2005

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (the "Corruption Convention"), which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on October 31, 2003. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Corruption Convention, with an enclosure.

The international fight against corruption is an important foreign policy priority for the United States. Corruption hinders sustainable development, erodes confidence in democratic institutions, and facilitates transnational crime and terrorism. The Convention will be an effective tool to assist in the growing global effort to combat corruption.

The U.N. Corruption Convention is the first global multilateral treaty to comprehensively address the problems relating to corruption. It provides for a broad range of cooperation, including extradition and mutual legal assistance, and commits governments to take measures that will prevent corruption from happening in the first place. The Corruption Convention includes provisions to criminalize and prevent corruption and provides procedures for governments to recover assets that have been illicitly acquired by corrupt officials.

The provisions of the Corruption Convention are explained in the accompanying report of the Department of State. The report also sets forth proposed reservations that would be deposited by the United States with

its instrument of ratification. With these reservations, the Convention will not require implementing legislation for the United States.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Corruption Convention and give its advice and consent to its ratification, subject to the reservations, understandings, and declarations described in the accompanying report of the Department of State.

George W. Bush

The White House,
October 27, 2005.

Remarks on the War on Terror in Norfolk, Virginia

October 28, 2005

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all very much. Please be seated. Thanks for the warm welcome. Thanks for the chance to get out of Washington. [*Laughter*]

It is great to be here in the Commonwealth of Virginia. You had a lot of history in this part of the world. This part of the country was home to the first English-speaking colony on the continent, birthplace of representative government in America, and the site of George Washington's victory in the Revolutionary War. I call him the first George W. [*Laughter*]

In the 21st century, the tradition of patriotism and freedom still runs strong here in the Hampton Roads. I know there's a lot of folks here in our military who live here, and I know there's a lot of veterans live here. So the first thing I want to say is to those who wear the uniform: This country is with you, and the Commander in Chief is incredibly proud of you. And to the veterans: Thanks for setting such a good example. I'm proud of your service.

Dee, thanks for the introduction, and thanks for the invitation. I want to thank Jack Hornbeck as well. I appreciate so very much the Senator from the great State—or the Commonwealth of Virginia, is here, George Allen. Thanks for coming, George. And Congresswoman Thelma Drake is with us. Thanks for coming. I appreciate you being here, honored you're here.

Mayor, thanks for coming. I appreciate Mayor Fraim. He's here from the city of Norfolk. He's a—the only thing I told him is—he didn't ask for my advice, but I gave it anyway—I said, "Fill the potholes." [*Laughter*] Thanks for serving. I appreciate your serving, Mayor. Thanks for greeting me today. I want to thank all the local and State officials who've joined us.

I want to thank the military commanders who are here: Lieutenant General Anthony Jones and Lieutenant General Mark Curran, Lieutenant General Bob Wagner, Major General Jim Soligan. Thank you all for being here. John McCarthy, Major General McCarthy of the Marine Corps, Rear Admiral John Acton, Rear Admiral Steve Turcotte, I'm honored you all took time to come.

I appreciate the foreign officers here. I appreciate you being here. I appreciate the jointness that we're working on and the transformation they're working on together to make sure that we're able to keep the peace. This is an important mission. I want to thank Admiral Sir Mark Stanhope. He's the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander of Transformation, in the United Kingdom's Royal Navy. I appreciate Lieutenant General Michel Maisonneuve. She's [He's]* in the Canadian Air Force. She's [He's]* NATO Headquarters Supreme Allied Commander Transformation Chief of Staff. Thank you all for being here. Thanks for being such strong allies in the cause of peace.

I appreciate the vibrancy of the community in which you live. This is a good place to live. It's a good place to find work. It's a good place to realize your dreams. It's a place where people understand that in order to make sure that our society stays vibrant and people can realize their dreams, we got to face squarely the threats that our Nation deals with. People here, I think, understand this fact, that America is engaged in the first war of the 21st century and that the stakes could not be higher.

On the morning of September the 11th, 2001, we saw the destruction that the terrorists intend for this Nation. We know they want to strike again. And our Nation has made a clear choice: We will confront this mortal danger to all humanity. And we will

* White House correction.

not tire, and we will not rest until the war on terror is won.

In the 4 years since September the 11th, the evil that reached our shores has reappeared on other days, in other places—in Mombasa and Casablanca and Riyadh and Jakarta and Istanbul and Madrid, in Beslan and Taba and Netanya and Baghdad and elsewhere. In the past few months, we have seen a new terror offensive with attacks on London and Sharm el-Sheikh and a deadly bombing in Bali once again.

Audience member. Mr. President, war is terror.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. All these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random and isolated acts of madness. Innocent men, women, and children have died simply because they boarded the wrong train or worked in the wrong building. They have died because they checked into the wrong hotel. Yet while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil but not insane.

Some call this evil Islamic radicalism; others, militant jihadism; and still others, Islamofascism. Whatever it's called, this ideology is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent and political vision, the establishment—by terrorism, subversion, and insurgency—of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Hindus and Jews and also against Muslims who do not share their radical vision, whom they regard as heretics.

Many militants are part of a global, borderless terrorist organizations like Al Qaida, which spreads propaganda and provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists and conducts dramatic and brutal operations like the attacks of September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups, often associated with Al Qaida, paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia, the Philippines, and Pakistan and Chechnya and Kashmir and Algeria. Still others spring up in local cells,

inspired by Islamic radicalism but not centrally controlled or directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with military branches than an army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world.

We know the vision of the radicals because they have openly stated it in videos, in audiotapes, and letters and declarations and web sites. First, these extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because we stand for democracy and peace and we stand in the way of their ambitions. Al Qaida's leader, Usama bin Laden, has called on Muslims to dedicate, their "resources, sons, and money to driving the infidels out of their lands." The tactics of Al Qaida and other Islamic extremists have been consistent for a quarter-century: They hit us, and they expect us to run. Earlier this month, the world learned of a letter written by Al Qaida's number two leader, a man named Zawahiri. He wrote this letter to his chief deputy in Iraq, the terrorist Zarqawi. In it, Zawahiri points to the Vietnam war as a model for Al Qaida. Zawahiri writes, "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam and how they ran and left their agents is noteworthy." The terrorists witnessed a similar response after the attacks on American troops in Beirut in 1983 and Mogadishu in 1993. They believe that America can be made to run again, only this time on a larger scale with greater consequences.

Second, the militant network wants to use the vacuum created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, a base from which to launch attacks and to conduct their war against nonradical Muslim governments. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and Jordan for potential takeover. They achieved their goal, for a time, in Afghanistan, and now they have set their sights on Iraq. In his recent letter, Zawahiri writes that Al Qaida views Iraq as, "the place for the greatest battle." The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity, and we must recognize Iraq as the central front in our war against terror.

Third, these militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow all moderate governments in the region and establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia. Zawahiri writes that the terrorists, quote, “must not have their mission end with the expulsion of Americans from Iraq.” He goes on to say, “The jihad . . . requires several incremental goals. . . . Expel the Americans from Iraq. . . . Establish an Islamic authority over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq. . . . Extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq.”^{*} With the greater economic, military, and political power they seek, the terrorists would be able to achieve their stated agenda, to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to assault the American people, and to blackmail our Government into isolation.

Some might be tempted to dismiss these goals as fanatical or extreme. They are fanatical and extreme, but they should not be dismissed. Our enemy is utterly committed. As Zawahiri [Zarqawi]^{**} has vowed, “We will either achieve victory over the human race, or we will pass to the eternal life.” And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously—and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.

Defeating the militant network is difficult, because it thrives like a parasite on the suffering and frustration of others. The radicals exploit local conflicts to build a culture of victimization in which someone else is always to blame and violence is always the solution. They exploit resentful and disillusioned young men and women, recruiting them through radical mosques as pawns of terror. And they exploit modern technology to multiply their destructive power. Instead of attending faraway training camps, recruits can now access online training libraries to learn how to build a roadside bomb or fire a

rocket-propelled grenade, and this further spreads the threat of violence, even within peaceful democratic societies.

The influence of Islamic radicalism is also magnified by helpers and enablers. They have been sheltered by authoritarian regimes, allies of convenience like Syria and Iran, that share the goal of hurting America and modern Muslim governments and that use terrorist propaganda to blame their own failures on the West, on America, and on the Jews. The radicals depend on front operations, such as corrupted charities, which direct money to terrorist activity. They are strengthened by those who aggressively fund the spread of radical and intolerant versions of Islam in unstable parts of the world. The militants are aided as well by elements of the Arab news media that incite hatred and anti-Semitism, that feed conspiracy theories and speak of a so-called American “war on Islam,” with seldom a word about American action to protect Muslims in Afghanistan and Bosnia and Somalia and Kosovo and Kuwait and Iraq and with seldom a word about our generous assistance to Muslims recovering from natural disasters in places like Indonesia and Pakistan.

Some have also argued that extremism has been strengthened by the actions of our coalition in Iraq, claiming that our presence in that country has somehow caused or triggered the rage of radicals. I would remind them that we were not in Iraq on September the 11th, 2001, and Al Qaida attacked us anyway. The hatred of the radicals existed before Iraq was an issue, and it will exist after Iraq is no longer an excuse. The Government of Russia did not support Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet the militants killed more than 150 Russian schoolchildren in Beslan.

Over the years, these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence: The Israeli presence on the West Bank or the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia or the defeat of the Taliban or the Crusades of a thousand years ago.

In fact, we’re not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We’re facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives, to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. No act of ours invited the rage of killers, and no consequence, bribe,

^{*} Ellipsis added by the White House.

^{**} White House correction.

or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans of murder.

On the contrary, they target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response. We will never back down; we will never give in; and we will never accept anything less than complete victory.

The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet in many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century. Like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard that presumes to speak for the Muslim masses. Bin Laden says his own role is to tell Muslims, "what is good for them and what is not." And what this man who grew up in wealth and privilege considers good for poor Muslims is that they become killers and suicide bombers. He assures them that this is the road to paradise, though he never offers to go along for the ride. [*Laughter*]

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision. And this explains their cold-blooded contempt for human life. We have seen it in the murders of Daniel Pearl, Nicholas Berg, and Margaret Hassan and many others. In a courtroom in the Netherlands, the killer of Theo van Gogh turned to the victim's grieving mother and said, "I don't feel your pain, because I believe you are an infidel." And in spite of this veneer of religious rhetoric, most of the victims claimed by the militants are fellow Muslims.

In an Al Qaida attack on two Baghdad hotels this week, the targets were journalists and innocent Iraqis. When unsuspecting hotel guests are blown up in their rooms or 25 Iraqi children are killed in a bombing or Iraqi teachers are executed at their school or hospital workers are killed caring for the wounded, this is murder, pure and simple—the total rejection of justice and honor and morality and religion. These militants are not just the enemies of America or the enemies of Iraq; they are the enemies of Islam and the enemies of humanity. And we have seen this kind of shameless cruelty before in the

heartless zealotry that led to the gulags, the Cultural Revolution, and the Killing Fields.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Its leaders pretend to be an aggrieved party, representing the powerless against imperial enemies. In truth, they have endless ambitions of imperial domination, and they wish to make everyone powerless except themselves. Under their rule, they have banned books and desecrated historical monuments and brutalized women. They seek to end dissent in every form, to control every aspect of life, and to rule the soul itself. While promising a future of justice and holiness, the terrorists are preparing a future of oppression and misery.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. Zarqawi has said that Americans are, and I quote, "the most cowardly of God's creatures." But let us be clear. It is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs and cuts the throat of a bound captive and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated more than 50 million people from tyranny. It is courage that keeps an untiring vigil against the enemies of a rising democracy. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that will once again destroy the enemies of freedom.

And Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom—by distrusting human creativity and punishing change and limiting the contributions of half of the population, this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants' vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt: Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation, decline, and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, free peoples will own the future.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we are answering history's call with confidence and a comprehensive strategy. Defeating a broad and adaptive network requires patience and constant pressure and strong partners in Europe, in the Middle East, and North Africa and Asia and beyond. Working with these partners, we are disrupting militant conspiracies, destroying their ability to make war, and are working to give millions in a troubled region of the world a hopeful alternative to resentment and violence.

First, we're determined to prevent the attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We are reorganizing the Government to give this Nation a broad and coordinated homeland defense. We are reforming our intelligence agencies for the incredibly difficult task of tracking enemy activity, based on information that often comes in small fragments from widely scattered sources, both here and abroad. And we're acting, along with governments from many countries, to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leaders.

Together with our coalition partners, we have disrupted a number of serious Al Qaida plots since September the 11th, including several Al Qaida plots to attack inside the United States. Our coalition against terror has killed or captured nearly all those directly responsible for the September the 11th attacks. We've killed or captured most of bin Laden's senior deputies: Al Qaida's managers and operatives in more than 24 countries; the mastermind of the U.S.S. *Cole* bombing, who was the chief Al Qaida operations—chief of Al Qaida operations in the Persian Gulf; we captured the mastermind of the bombings in Jakarta and Bali; a senior Zarqawi terrorist planner, who was planning attacks in Turkey; and many of Al Qaida's senior leaders in Saudi Arabia. Because of this steady progress, the enemy is wounded, but the enemy is still capable of global operations. Our commitment is clear: We will not relent until the organized international terror networks are exposed and broken and until their leaders are held to account for their murder.

Secondly, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and to their terrorist allies, who would use

them without hesitation. The United States, working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, has exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs as well as its long-range ballistic missiles. And in the last year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspected weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program. This progress has reduced the danger to free nations, but it has not removed it. Evil men who want to use horrendous weapons against us are working in deadly earnest to gain them. And we are working urgently to keep weapons of mass murder out of the hands of the fanatics.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. State sponsors like Syria and Iran have a long history of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the victims of terror. The United States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they are equally guilty of murder.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation which they would use as a home base and a launching pad for terror. This mission has brought new and urgent responsibilities to our Armed Forces and to all of you. American troops are fighting beside Afghan partners with remnants of the Taliban and their Al Qaida allies. We are working with President Musharraf to oppose and isolate the militants in Pakistan. We're fighting the regime remnants and terrorists in Iraq. The terrorist goal is to overthrow a rising democracy, claim a strategic country as a haven for terror, destabilize the Middle East, and strike America and free nations with ever-increasing violence. That's their goal. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies at the heart of their power, so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive plan. As Secretary Rice explained last week, our strategy is to clear, hold, and build. We

are working to clear areas from terrorist control, to hold those areas securely, and to build lasting and democratic Iraqi institutions. In recent weeks, American and Iraqi troops have conducted several major assaults to clear out enemy fighters in western Iraq and to help shut down terrorist entry routes from Syria. During one raid, our forces killed a Zarqawi henchman named Abu Abdullah, who was responsible for attacks on American troops and innocent Iraqis. We also killed a terrorist named Abu Dua, who had been helping terrorists enter Iraq from Syria. Thousands of Iraqi forces have been participating in our operations, and many have remained in the cities along with coalition forces to hold onto our gains and prevent the enemy from returning. Iraqi forces are using their local expertise to maintain security and make tangible improvements in the lives of their fellow Iraqis.

At the same time, Iraqis are making inspiring progress toward building a lasting democracy. Earlier this month, millions of Iraqis turned out to vote on a constitution that guarantees fundamental freedoms and lays the foundation for lasting democracy. And this week, the Iraqi elections commission certified passage of that constitution. Many more Sunnis participated in this vote than in January's historic elections, and the level of violence was dramatically lower. With their courageous vote, the Iraqis have once again proved their determination to build a democracy united against extremism and violence. An 85-year-old Iraqi woman cast a ballot in favor of the constitution after her son carried her to the polls on his back. And here's what she said, "I went out to vote for it because I want the future to be safe and peaceful for my sons and my grandchildren."

The work ahead involves great risk for Iraqis and for American and coalition forces. We have lost some of the Nation's finest men and women in the war on terror. Each of these men and women left grieving families and left loved ones back home. Each of these patriots left a legacy that will allow generations of their fellow Americans to enjoy the blessings of liberty. Each loss is heart-breaking. And the best way to honor the sacrifices of our fallen troops is to complete the

mission and lay the foundation of peace by spreading freedom.

Wars are not won without sacrifice, and this war will require more sacrifice, more time, and more resolve. The terrorists are as brutal an enemy as we have ever faced, unconstrained by any notion of common humanity or by the rules of warfare. No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead, nor should they overlook the advantages we bring to this fight.

Some observers look at the job ahead and adopt a self-defeating pessimism. It is not justified. With every random bombing and with every funeral of a child, it becomes more clear that the extremists are not patriots or resistance fighters; they are murderers at war with the Iraqi people themselves. In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard or precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible political progress from tyranny to liberation, to national elections, to the ratification of a constitution—in the space of 2½ years. And with our help, the Iraqi military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence with every passing month. At the time of our Fallujah operations nearly a year ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today there are nearly 90 Iraqi army battalions fighting the terrorists alongside our forces. General David Petraeus says, "Iraqis are in the fight. They are fighting and dying for their country, and they are fighting increasingly well," he says. The progress isn't easy, but it is steady. And no fair-minded person should ignore or deny or dismiss the achievements of the Iraqi people.

Some observers question the durability of democracy in Iraq. They underestimate the power and appeal of freedom. We've heard it suggested that Iraq's democracy must be on shaky ground because Iraqis are arguing with each other. [*Laughter*] But that's the essence of democracy: You make your case; you debate with those you disagree with; you build a consensus by persuasion; and you answer to the will of the people. We've heard it said that the Shi'a, the Sunnis, and the Kurds of Iraq are too divided to form a lasting democracy. In fact, democratic federalism is the best hope for unifying a diverse population because a federal constitutional

system respects the rights and religious traditions of all citizens, while giving all minorities, including the Sunnis, a stake and a voice in the future of their country. It is true that the seeds of freedom have only recently been planted in Iraq, but democracy, when it grows, is not a fragile flower. It's a healthy, sturdy tree. As Americans, we believe that people everywhere prefer freedom to slavery and that liberty, once chosen, improves the lives of all. And so we're confident, as our coalition and the Iraqi people each do their part, Iraqi democracy will succeed.

Some observers also claim that America would be better off by cutting our losses and leaving Iraq now. This is a dangerous illusion, refuted with a simple question: Would the United States and other free nations be more safe or less safe with Zarqawi and bin Laden in control of Iraq, its people, and its resources? Having removed a dictator who hated free peoples, we will not stand by as a new set of killers, dedicated to the destruction of our country, seizes control of Iraq by violence.

There is always a temptation, in the middle of a long struggle, to seek the quiet life, to escape the duties and problems in the world, and to hope the enemy grows weary of fanaticism and tired of murder. That would be a pleasant world, but it's not the world we live in. The enemy is never tired, never sated, never content with yesterday's brutality. This enemy considers every retreat of the civilized world as an invitation to greater violence. In Iraq, there is no peace without victory, and so we will keep our nerve and win that victory.

The fifth element of our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. This is a difficult and long-term project, yet there is no alternative to it. Our future and the future of that region are linked. If the broader Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in misery, while radicals stir the resentments of millions, then that part of the world will be a source of endless conflict and mounting danger, in our generation and for the next. If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny and advance by

their own energy and participation as free men and women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow and eventually end. By standing for the hope and freedom of others, we make our own freedom more secure.

America is making this stand in practical ways. We are encouraging our friends in the Middle East, including Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to take the path of reform, to strengthen their own societies in the fight against terror by respecting the rights and choices of their people. We are standing with dissidents and exiles against oppressive regimes, because we know that the dissidents of today will be the democratic leaders of tomorrow. We are making our case through public diplomacy, stating clearly and confidently our belief in self-determination and the rule of law and religious freedom and equal rights for women, beliefs that are right and true in every land and in every culture.

And as we do our part to confront radicalism, we know that the most vital work will be done within the Islamic world itself. And this work has begun. Many Muslim scholars have publicly condemned terrorism, often citing Chapter 5, Verse 32 of the Koran, which states that killing an innocent human being is like killing all of humanity, and saving the life of one person is like saving all of humanity. After the attacks in London on July the 7th, an imam in the United Arab Emirates declared, "Whoever does such a thing is not a Muslim nor a religious person." The time has come for all responsible Islamic leaders to join in denouncing an ideology that exploits Islam for political ends and defiles a noble faith.

Many people of the Muslim faith are proving their commitment at great personal risk. Everywhere we have engaged the fight against extremism, Muslim allies have stood up and joined the fight, becoming partners in a vital cause. Afghan troops are in combat against Taliban remnants. Iraqi soldiers are sacrificing to defeat Al Qaida in their own country. These brave citizens know the stakes: The survival of their own liberty, the future of their own region, the justice and humanity of their own tradition, and we are proud to stand beside them.

With the rise of a deadly enemy and the unfolding of a global ideological struggle, our time in history will be remembered for new challenges and unprecedented dangers. And yet the fight we have joined is also the current expression of an ancient struggle between those who put their faith in dictators and those who put their faith in the people. Throughout history, tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that murder is justified to serve their grand vision, and they end up alienating decent people across the globe. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that regimented societies are strong and pure, until those societies collapse in corruption and decay. And tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that free men and women are weak and decadent, until the day that free men and women defeat them.

We don't know the course of our own struggle, where it will take us, or the sacrifices that might lie ahead. But we do know, however, that the defense of freedom is worth our sacrifice. We do know the love of freedom is the mightiest force of history. And we do know the cause of freedom will once again prevail.

Thank you for having me. May God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 a.m. at Chrysler Hall. In his remarks, he referred to D. R. "Dee" Carpenter III, chair, and John A. "Jack" Hornbeck, Jr., president and chief executive officer, Hampton Roads Chamber of Commerce; Mayor Paul D. Fraim of Norfolk, VA; Lt. Gen. Anthony R. Jones, USA, deputy commanding general and chief of staff, and Lt. Gen. John M. "Mark" Curran, USA, deputy commanding general, Futures, and director, Futures Center, United States Army Training and Doctrine Command; Lt. Gen. Robert W. Wagner, USA, acting commander, and Maj. Gen. James N. Soligan, USAF, chief of staff, United States Joint Forces Command; Maj. Gen. John J. McCarthy, USMC, deputy commander, Marine Forces Atlantic, Marine Forces South, and Marine Forces Europe; Rear Adm. John C. Acton, USCG, deputy area commander, Mobilization and Reserve Affairs, Atlantic Area; Rear Adm. Stephen A. Turcotte, USN, commander, Navy Region Mid-Atlantic; Lt. Gen. J.O. Michel Maisonneuve, Canadian Army, chief of staff to the Supreme Allied Commander, Transformation, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Ayman Al-Zawahiri, founder of the Egyptian

Islamic Jihad and senior Al Qaida associate; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Mohammed Bouyeri, who was convicted of the murder of Theo van Gogh; Anneke van Gogh, mother of Theo van Gogh; Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, Al Qaida's chief of operations for the Persian Gulf; Nurjaman Riduan Isamuddin (also known as Hambali), Al Qaida's chief operational planner in Southeast Asia; A.Q. Khan, former head of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program; President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan; Lt. Gen. David H. Petraeus, USA, former commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks on the 40th Anniversary of the President's Commission on White House Fellows

October 28, 2005

Thanks for coming. Welcome to the White House. I understand you had a guest speaker at lunch. [Laughter] You probably wish he was back. [Laughter] I'm honored to be here, thanks to—as we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the White House Fellows program.

I agreed to do this because I'm a big believer in the White House Fellows program. I think it is important, and I think it is a program that, when you analyze the results, you'll say, this is—it's made a difference in the life of our country. So I want to thank you all for coming. It's an honor to share this celebration with you. I view the White House Fellows program as an investment in the future of our country.

I've kind of taken advantage of the White House Fellows program. I've managed to find a few White House Fellows to serve in my Government, starting with the Secretary of Labor, Elaine Chao. Thank you for being here, Madam Secretary. And Colin Powell, who will be honored tonight with the John W. Gardner Legacy of Leadership Award. Well deserved, I might add. [Laughter]

I also appreciate the Administrator of the EPA for joining us. Thanks for coming, Steve Johnson.

I just said, thanks, to the President's Commission on White House Fellows. I guess you all are the deciders who get to be White House Fellows? And thanks for serving. It's a—it is an appointment I take very seriously.

I appreciate you doing it. And I want to thank the chairman, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, for being the chairman of the Commission. And this is probably familiar territory to you here, isn't it? *[Laughter]* And I thank Janet Eissenstat, the director for the White House program. Thank you all. I'm also honored that Barbara Anderson has joined us, the president of the White House Fellows Alumni Association. And mostly, thank you all for coming.

The program began with a good idea. It was: Let's choose a handful of outstanding young leaders and bring them to Washington, DC, and put them to work at the highest levels of the executive branch and see what happens." *[Laughter]* I was pleased to learn this was the vision of John Gardner. He outlined the vision in a memo in 1957. But it was implemented by Lyndon Baines Johnson, my fellow Texan. *[Laughter]*

I don't know if any of the class—the first class of the White House Fellows are here. Is somebody here from—you guys don't look old enough. *[Laughter]* Welcome. Glad you're here.

If I had to just write the program, here's what I'd say would be the goals of the program. First, to show people how Government works so as to inspire people to become involved in Government. That's what I would say. I'd say, try to get people who have got talents and brains and desire and ambition and expose them to Government—trying to recruit people to participate in Government—at any level, whether it be the Federal Government or the school board. That's what I would hope the program would do.

Secondly, I would hope the program would teach somebody how to make decisions and how to manage organizations. If a White House Fellow hangs around the White House, he'll see decisionmaking. If a White House Fellow is involved in the Cabinet, they'll see decisionmaking in management. They'll see all kinds of things. And I would hope people would learn that in order to make decisions, you got to make decisions on principle. You can't be kind of just figuring it out as time goes on, you have to stand for something, no matter what the polls or focus groups may say. You make good decisions by believing something and not trying

to find yourself in the midst of the decision-making process, I guess. And in order to lead, you've got to set clear goals that everybody can understand and then not be afraid to hold people account as to whether those goals have been met.

And thirdly, I would hope the White House Fellowship program takes really smart, bright, capable people and makes them understand that there's always a new horizon, that one should never be complacent if you've been given a lot of God-given talents, that you've got to keep striving for the best.

That's how I see the White House program. I mean, it's working. And the reason I know is I get to—first of all, I know people who have graduated from the program, and you've gone on to great success. You've taken your talents, and you've succeeded, and you've made a difference in your communities. And I want to thank you for that. That's important. The truth of the matter is, this country is really strong and vibrant because people reach out to succeed, people—ambition is, it seems like in America, is something that oftentimes lead to a better tomorrow.

I particularly think about those who go back to their communities and realize that to whom much has been given, much is required and become involved in saving people's lives through compassion and changing America as a result of putting your arm around somebody who hurts and says, "How can I help? What can I do to make a difference in your life?" It's kind of the—I view the White House Fellows as part of the de Tocqueville vision, what de Tocqueville saw about America. It's individuals of talent joining together to serve a cause greater than yourself and your communities.

One of my favorite activities as the President is to meet with the White House Fellows. I see a couple of my biking buddies back there. *[Laughter]* Sweet Lou. *[Laughter]* Get back to work, Lou. I don't know what you're doing here, Lou. *[Laughter]*

I love to sit down with the Fellows and talk about—and answer their questions, is really what it's like. And it's an inspiring experience for me. The questions are always good and right on target, and it's—I learned

as much—probably more from them than they do from me.

And so one time, one of the guys said, “How do you—how can you handle all this business, and what do you do?” And I said, “Well, one of the things, I like to exercise. I like to stay fit as part of a daily routine.” He said, “What do you do?” I said, “Well, I ride mountain bikes.” And Lou happened to be the captain of the Stanford mountain bike—regular bike time, but felt like he was strong enough to ride with a 59-year-old. [Laughter] And it turns out, he was strong enough to ride. [Laughter]

At any rate, it's been fun. He's a part of Peleton One, and—as was Lauren. I'm not going to tell them about the other bikers that didn't quite make it from your class, Lou—[laughter]—but I really enjoy it. I got a chance to see the caliber and the quality of the people who come to Washington, DC, to serve, and I am impressed by the program.

I guess what I'm telling you is, thanks for being a part of it; thanks for seeing to it that the program continues on. I appreciate you helping to find people to come to Washington, DC, to be a Fellow. I want to thank you for setting a good example for others in the community in which you live. And thank you for allowing me to come by and celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the White House Fellows.

Finally, may God bless you all, and may God bless our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:44 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Louis O'Neill and Lauren Zucker, White House Fellows 2004–05.

Remarks on the Resignation of the Vice President's Chief of Staff

I. Lewis Libby

October 28, 2005

Today I accepted the resignation of Scooter Libby. Scooter has worked tirelessly on behalf of the American people and sacrificed much in the service to this country. He served the Vice President and me through extraordinary times in our Nation's history.

Special Counsel Fitzgerald's investigation and ongoing legal proceedings are serious,

and now the proceedings—the process moves into a new phase. In our system, each individual is presumed innocent and entitled to due process and a fair trial.

While we're all saddened by today's news, we remain wholly focused on the many issues and opportunities facing this country. I've got a job to do and so do the people who work in the White House. We've got a job to protect the American people, and that's what we'll continue working hard to do.

I look forward to working with Congress on policies to keep this economy moving. And pretty soon, I'll be naming somebody to the Supreme Court.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:51 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Patrick J. Fitzgerald, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois and Department of Justice CIA leak investigation Special Prosecutor.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

October 22

In the morning, at Camp David, MD, the President had an intelligence briefing.

The President made additional disaster assistance available to Louisiana by authorizing an increase in the level of Federal funding for Public Assistance projects undertaken as a result of Hurricane Katrina.

The President made additional disaster assistance available to Mississippi by authorizing an increase in the level of Federal funding for Public Assistance projects undertaken as a result of Hurricane Katrina.

October 23

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff to discuss preparations for Hurricane Wilma.

October 24

In the morning, the President had separate telephone conversations with R. David Paulison, Acting Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida to discuss Hurricane Wilma.

Later in the morning, the President had a telephone conversation with President-elect Lech Kaczynski of Poland to congratulate him on his October 23 election victory and to discuss other issues. He then had an intelligence briefing.

In the afternoon, in the Oval Office, the President met with Ambassador to Afghanistan Ronald E. Neumann. Later, he dropped by a meeting between the National Security Council and Minister of Industry and Energy Viktor Borisovich Khristenko of Russia.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ben S. Bernanke to be a member and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

The President declared a major disaster in Florida and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Wilma beginning on October 23 and continuing.

October 25

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing and a briefing on Hurricane Wilma. Later, in the Rose Garden and the Yellow Oval Room, he and Mrs. Bush posed for their official portraits.

In the afternoon, in the Oval Office, the President participated in a photo opportunity with 2005 National Physical Fitness Champions.

October 26

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, in the Oval Office, he met with Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad. He then met with Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, Senate Majority Whip Mitch McConnell, Speaker of the House of Representatives J. Dennis Hastert, and

House Majority Whip Roy Blunt to discuss legislative priorities.

Later in the morning, in Room 350 of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building, the President participated in a bill signing ceremony for S. 397, Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act.

During the day, in the Oval Office, the President met with President John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana.

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with Associate Justice-designate Harriet E. Miers.

The President announced his intention to nominate Bernadette M. Allen to be Ambassador to Niger.

The President announced his intention to nominate Janice L. Jacobs to be Ambassador to Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.

The President announced his intention to nominate Marilyn Ware to be Ambassador to Finland.

The President announced his intention to appoint Bradley P. Clawson, James E. Lockey, and John W. Poston, Sr., as members of the Advisory Board on Radiation and Worker Health.

The President announced his intention to designate Naomi Churchill Earp as Vice Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The President made additional disaster assistance available to Louisiana by authorizing an increase in the level of Federal funding for Public Assistance projects undertaken as a result of Hurricane Rita.

The President declared a major disaster in New Hampshire and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding on October 7–18.

October 27

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he met with Associate Justice-designate Harriet E. Miers.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Miami, FL. Upon arrival in the afternoon, he traveled to Pompano Beach, FL, where he toured the areas damaged by Hurricane Wilma.

Later in the afternoon, the President traveled to Miami, FL, where he toured the National Hurricane Center. He then participated in a briefing with R. David Paulison, Acting Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida on Hurricane Wilma recovery efforts. Later, he returned to Washington, DC, arriving in the evening.

The President announced his intention to nominate Patricia N. Moller to be Ambassador to Burundi.

The President announced his intention to nominate Carol van Voorst to be Ambassador to Iceland.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ross Wilson to be Ambassador to Turkey.

The President announced his intention to appoint Stephen Friedman as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and, upon appointment, to designate him as Chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and member and Chairman of the Intelligence Oversight Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board: James L. Barksdale; Arthur B. Culvahouse; William O. DeWitt, Jr.; Adm. James O. Ellis, USN, (Ret.); Donald L. Evans; Martin Faga; Lee Hamilton; Ray Hunt; David E. Jeremiah; John L. Morrison; and Elizabeth Pate-Cornell.

The President announced his intention to appoint Stefanie R. Osburn as Executive Director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

October 28

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he traveled to Norfolk, VA.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC. Later, he met with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Camp David, MD.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted October 25

Aida M. Delgado-Colon, of Puerto Rico, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Puerto Rico, vice Salvador E. Casellas, retired.

Submitted October 26

Bernadette Mary Allen, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Niger.

Janice L. Jacobs, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Senegal, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Marilyn Ware, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Finland.

Submitted October 28

Patricia Newton Moller, of Arkansas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Burundi.

Carol van Voorst, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Iceland.

Ross Wilson, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Turkey.

Withdrawn October 28

Harriet Ellan Miers, of Texas, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, vice Sandra Day O'Connor, retiring, which was sent to the Senate on October 7, 2005.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released October 22

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Louisiana

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Mississippi

Released October 24

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Florida

Released October 25

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Released October 26

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Scott McClellan and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing that the President signed S. 55 and S. 156

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing that the President signed S. 397

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Louisiana

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to New Hampshire

Fact sheet: President Bush Outlines an Agenda for Economic Growth

Released October 27

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Released October 28

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Transcript of a teleconference briefing by Office of Management and Budget Director Joshua B. Bolten

Fact sheet: President Bush Requests Rescission and Reallocation Packages

Message From the Chief of Staff to White House staff on the resignation of I. Lewis Libby

Acts Approved by the President

Approved October 26

S. 397 / Public Law 109–92
Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act

S. 55 / Public Law 109–93
Rocky Mountain National Park Boundary Adjustment Act of 2005

S. 156 / Public Law 109–94
Ojito Wilderness Act